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# THE

# CHINESE

# AT HOME AND ABROAD.

TOGETHER WITH

The Report of the Special Committee of the Board of Supervisors of San Francisco, on the Condition of the Chinese Quarter of that City.

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By WILLARD B. FARWELL.

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# PART I.

"As yet, our Mongolian visitors are substantially free to labor as they will and for whom they will, as long as they render due obedience to our laws. As yet, I judge that the benefits resulting from their immigration have decidly overbalanced the evils. But what has hitherto been a rivulet may become a Niagara, hurling millions instead of thousands upon us from the vast, overcrowded hives of China and India, to cover not only our Pacific slope but the Great Basin, and pour in torrents through the gorges of the Rocky Mountains into the vast, inviting valley of the Mississippi. The prospect demands instant, earnest consideration. The stream of Mongol immigration may vastly enlarge itself, yet remain beneficent and fertilizing; but not if it is to work (as many apprehend) a retrograde change in our industrial organization, and result in the establishment of a novel and specious serfdom but little removed in essence from old-fashioned slavery."—*Horace Greeley's "Essays on Political Economy,"* 1870.

# PREFACE.

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The "Report of the Special Committee of the Board of Supervisors of San Francisco," which will be found republished in this volume, presents a truthful and fair statement of the mode of life of the Chinese in San Francisco. Striking, and indeed shocking as its revelations are, they fall far short of conveying to the reader who has never visited a "Chinese quarter" here or elsewhere, a perfect conception of the real condition of things in that locality. No one has yet been found bold enough to attack a single statement of fact contained in this report, or to call in question the justness of the indictment thus presented against the Chinese as residents of our country. It is probably the first time that the practical effects of Chinese immigration have ever been clearly and fairly presented for public consideration; the first time that the plain, unvarnished truth has been told, stripped of the *ad captandum* nonsense and noise with which the question has so long been burthened, and by which the public mind has been nauseated and misled.

The plan contemplated in this work has been to show, first, what are the salient features of Chinese manners and customs at home; to expose, so far as reference to recognized authorities will permit, the vices, low grade of morality, cruelties, and all the general evil qualities which the race possess, conceding to them all the virtues which their warmest admirers may desire to set down to their credit, and then, by comparing their mode of life when transplanted to these or other shores outside of the "Flowery Kingdom," to ascertain how far their native vices, their low grade of morals, their heathenism, their cruel practices and innate inhumanity are modified by the process of transplanting them to other shores, to breathe a new atmosphere and be fostered under other skies.

If it can be proved, incontrovertibly, that the Chinese at home are a race unfit in every aspect of life to mingle with and exist among a Christian community; if it can be proved that their race characteristics are so utterly at variance with those of the Caucasian type that assimilation with that race is impossible; if it can be proved that their presence on our shores results alone in sowing the seeds of immorality, vice and disease among our people, and plunges a large mass of the laboring classes into poverty and misery; if it can be proved that they alone, and a comparatively few capitalists, are benefited pecuniarily, and that they remain an unconverted pagan multitude still, impervious to every effort that may be made to convert them to the "true faith;" if it can be proved that instead of Christian contact resulting in lifting them up it results in pulling Christian people down to the level of their own degradation—what can there be said in favor of the longer toleration of the coming of this race, or the longer acceptance of the cant and bigotry that have heretofore been uttered or written in their behalf?

All this it is proposed to prove, and to prove incontrovertibly, in this work. Having this end in view, and believing that the task thus planned and entered upon has been accomplished, it is submitted for public consideration, with the assurance that it embodies only a plain, fair statement of immutable truths, and that it involves a lesson from which unprejudiced civilized humanity can hardly fail to profit.

W. B. F.

San Francisco, September, 1885.

# CHAPTER I.

## INTRODUCTORY.

The discussion of the question of Chinese immigration into the United States, and the effects of such immigration upon the public welfare, ought surely to be conducted without prejudice and without passion. There is little to choose in the ministrations of public criticisms between the prejudice which controls the minds of sentimentalists and religious enthusiasts, and the passion which fires the hearts of the "sand-lot" orators, in the advocacy of their theories and the inculcation of their doctrines upon this question.

So important a public problem as this, so overshadowing indeed in its importance, every other question that has ever agitated the minds of the American people since African slavery was abolished, may well command calmness of thought, coolness of consideration and indeed the most conscientious effort of the human mind in seeking its solution.

It is impossible to find a writer upon this question who has given the result of his labors to the public thus far in printed form, whose arguments are not perverted by the baldest prejudice, and whose facts and figures are not to a greater or lesser extent distorted and misrepresented; who does not seek to force the conclusions which he too plainly wishes to arrive at to meet the bias of his mind in every instance. If there is an exception to this rule it will be difficult to find it. This remark does not apply to writers upon China and the Chinese, as historians or otherwise, but only to those who have written upon the subject of the Chinese in connection with their immigration into the United States, since that question began to take on the form of a State and National issue. So far as the orators of the "sand lots" and their followers are concerned, those, who, however well meaning and honest they may be, unite in the common, passionate cry "the Chinese must go," without yet ever having formulated a single practicable method of carrying their rallying cry into effect, and without considering how to deal with the problem from any other than the standpoint of passion, there is no occasion to say more than that their action can never produce any other than calamitous results, both to themselves and the singular class of people whose presence among us thus invites and possibly justifies their hatred

There is not only missionary work to be done by the Christian denominations among these idolatrous people, but there is an almost boundless field for the thoughtful men of California and the Pacific Coast generally, to do missionary work among the American people, to open their eyes and convince them of the inexpressible dangers that now threaten their future prosperity from this very thing of Chinese immigration. The need of conversion on this question will come home to everyone, when we stop to consider that in the earlier years of the settlement of California by the American people—particularly as regards San Francisco—the immigration of the Chinese and their presence among us, was regarded by the people here with a degree of favor equal to that which now animates a large body of the American people upon the subject. And it was not till years of contact in the fields of commerce and industrial interests had taught them a lesson in the danger which they were courting, that the real magnitude and character of the Chinese question dawned upon them. It need not, and cannot be said, justly, then, that the people of California, when they set their faces—regardless of party prejudice—against the further increase of the Chinese horde, are governed by any other thought or desire than that inspired by the admitted "first law of nature," "self preservation," than a sincere conviction which a long and bitter experience by contact with this Asiatic race has begotten, and which compels them now to insist upon the adoption of such remedial measures as shall relieve them of the national wrong under which they are suffering.

It should be the unceasing effort, then, of the thoughtful men of the Pacific Coast to so present the story of the effects of Chinese immigration among them, in the garb of unvarnished and incontrovertible truth, as to carry the same conviction to the hearts of all thinking people in every State of the Union as that which this practical experience of the people of the Pacific Coast has brought home to them and convinced them of their pending danger. This cannot better be done than by the presentation of so truthful a statement and exhibit of the exact relations which they now bear among us, after thirty-five years of social and industrial contact, as will carry conviction to the minds of all reasoning men, and secure such unity of national action as will deal with this great problem upon the basis of public right and justice.

What the people of the Pacific Coast especially demand is that the American people will lay aside all prejudice and pre-conceived views upon the Chinese question and examine the whole subject matter in the light of incontrovertible testimony, such as they are now enabled to present, without passion and without bias. It has already been said that time was when the people of San Francisco, for example, were as strongly in favor of Chinese immigration as any of its advocates are to-day in other sections of our country.

Upon the occasion of the admisson of California into the Union, the people of San Francisco celebrated the event with great enthusiasm. Not the least conspicuous feature of the public procession were the Chinese, who, as invited guests, took part in the event. In 1853, upon the occasion of the delivery of a lecture on China by the Rev. Mr. Speer, the Hon. H. H. Haight, subsequently Democratic Governor of the State, presented the following resolutions at the close of the lecture, which were unanimously adopted:

"*Resolved*, That the present position of Oriental nations is fraught with the most profound interest to the Christian world, and that we, as citizens of California, placed by the wonderful leadings of Providence so immediately in contact with one of the most ancient, intelligent and populous of these nations, hail with peculiar satisfaction the signs of the times; and that we feel an imperative obligation to employ our money, our influence and utmost effort for the welfare of that vast portion of the human family, our older brothers—the people of China.

"*Resolved*, That we regard with pleasure the presence of great numbers of these people among us as affording the best opportunity of doing them good, and through them of exerting our influence upon their native land."

It is not too much to say that if these resolutions were submitted for endorsement to the popular vote of the people of San Francisco to-day, there is not a man in the whole community, except those directly and pecuniarily interested in keeping the Chinamen here, who would not repudiate the sentiment which they embody by an emphatic no! Is it to be presumed that such a change of sentiment has been brought about in the minds of an intelligent people except by such practical results growing out of long years of contact with the Chinese as have compelled them to conversion? It should be remembered that this change of public sentiment in California during these years of contact with the Chinse is not the conversion of a people coming from any one section of the Union, or representing any one State; but that California—"Child of the Union," as she has been aptly called—has a population made up of representatives from every part of the United States as well as European countries. Whatever, then, by practical experience, carries conviction home to the minds of a people so constituted, ought to be accepted by the people of all the rest of the States as convincing, and should insure their acquiescence and coöperation. It should be accepted as proof positive in itself that the position held by the people of California on this question is necessarily right, and necessarily deserving of the sympathy and aid of the people of the nation.

If, then, a true exhibit of the causes which have led to this change of sentiment can be conveyed into the minds of their fellow-citizens throughout the country, it is reasonable to assume that they, too, will experience "a change of heart" upon this momentous issue. It is the object of the compilation of incontestible facts, which will be presented in this work, to carry home conviction to the hearts of all fair-minded men under whose observation it may fall, and to bring about, to that extent, at least, such a reformation in the public mind upon the Chinese question as shall strengthen the arms of the people of the Pacific Coast, in the contest which they are making to remove the incubus which has fastened itself upon them, and to avert the still greater danger which threatens the whole country by the further toleration of Chinese immigration.

No fair and impartial statement of the Chinese question can be made that does not embody an exhibit in brief of the social, industrial, moral and religious sides of Chinese life in China itself, and the same conditions of their existence after being translated to these shores, and after having established themselves by a residence of prolonged existence among us. The most liberal and earnest advocate of unrestricted foreign immigration into the United States, the wildest enthusiast upon the theory of making this land the asylum of the poor and oppressed of all nations, will surely not contend that the public welfare, or the welfare of the wide mixture of nationalities that assemble here can ever be promoted, except it be followed by intermixture, or what is better termed "assimilation," and complete Americanization in social and industrial manner and mode of life. And the only rational defense of this unlimited immigration theory rests solely upon the results that have heretofore obtained in putting it into practice and adhering to it as a measure of fixed public policy. Going farther than this, it involves also all the conditions of perfect political assimilation; and hence it is accompanied by such terms of naturalization to all the rights of citizenship, that all may, after a brief period, enter into and participate in all the political rights that the native American enjoys, as freely as if born and bred upon the soil.

This theory presupposes that every adult as well as every child immigrant coming into the United States is capable of being Americanized, as heretofore stated, by brief contact with Americans and brief residence upon American soil. Now if this be the underlying theory of the American form of government, and if it can be proved beyond controversy that there are nationalities which cannot be Americanized, which cannot assimilate and which thus form an exception to this presupposed theory, which send to us a class of human material that, by reason of ethnological or other natural laws, must always remain separate in race characteristics, and in social and industrial life must always be antagonistic to the same phases of American life proper; if it can be proved that the contact of such a race with the assimilated or composite American race proper is productive only of the spread of vice and disease of blood, and degrading and injurious to American free labor, then no unbiased mind can fail to say that such a race should be made an exception to the American theory, and American soil should not be opened to them as an asylum or a home.

What happens in the case of the Chinese is this: The nation, by Congressional law, recognizes that they are not fit for political citizenship, but does not deny them the right of asylum or home among us. The case is thus half admitted, and the battle half won. Now let us take one step further. In the case of children born upon the soil from Chinese parentage, the prohibition against naturalization cannot apply, and they are and must be citizens. Now, if it can be proved that even with Chinese children born upon the soil the same race characteristics prevail in all respects that exist among the adult immigrants, then the same objections obtain against their exercising the rights of citizenship which have caused the Chinese to be made exceptions against naturalization; and we thus have created, by admitting Chinese immigration at all, the very means of defeat of the precaution which Congress has taken, to prohibit Chinese naturalization. Such is the anomalous and absurd position in which we have placed ourselves by this self-frustrating system of Congressional legislation; because it will later on appear that such is the precise status of Chinese children born upon American soil, in so far as thirty-five years of experience with Chinese immigration and habition here goes to prove. Let us, in logical order, see, then, first: what are the characteristics of life in China of the classes of Chinese who immigrate to America; second, what are their characteristics when transplanted to these shores. There need be no dispute upon either of these points, because there is no dispute on the part of those who have written from experience and observation upon the subject of the manners and customs of the Chinese in China, unbiased upon the subject of Chinese immigration into America. While the presentation of the mode of life of the Chinese here, in the Report presented by the Special Committee of the Board of Supervisors of San Francisco upon so-called "Chinatown" in that city—not one single statement in which has been so far disputed or attempted to be controverted—settles beyond question what the characteristics of the Chinese are when thus transplanted; for the picture of "Chinatown in San Francisco," presented in this Report, is a picture of every "Chinatown" in every other large city or town in California or elsewhere, in any country to which there has been any considerable influx of Chinese; and there is no country on the habitable globe to which there has been any marked Chinese emigration where the same system of clannish isolation does not exist in all large communities, and there is no city in such countries that does not boast its "Chinatown," which quarter, in every instance, is a reproduction of the "Chinatown" of San Francisco—on a greater or lesser scale, as the case may be—as that quarter will be found to be described in this work. Further than this, it is the object of this exhibit to prove that the "Chinese at Home" are the "Chinese Abroad" in every essential particular, unchangeable in any material aspect, non-assimilating in nature, and hence productive only of evil consequences when migrating to these shores, to become practically, if not politically, American citizens.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE CHINESE AT HOME.

With the history, inventions and achievements of the Chinese as a people, with the code of morals taught by Confucius or other Chinese moralists, with the higher and better attributes of Chinese civilization we have at present no concern, because as these are represented here by the few merchants or scholars who necessarily drift here with the tide of coolieism that forms the great bulk of Chinese immigration proper, they scarcely enter into consideration when dealing with this question. Certainly were Chinese immigration confined alone to this higher class, this question would cease to agitate the public mind.

What are the race characteristics, what are the capabilities for absorption and assimilation into the body politic of American nationality if permitted to come here, of the class of Chinese who form this great bulk of Asiatic immigration to our shores, what is to be the physical, moral and religious effect upon either race by such contact! These are the more important features of the problem which we are called upon to solve, and to these let us address ourselves. Let us see first what is the verdict of impartial writers upon this subject.

M. l'Abbe Huc, the eminent Frenchman, whose travels and observations in China were of a more thorough and complete character than those of any traveler who preceded or who has since succeeded him, has left in his "Journey through the Chinese Empire" a record of his observations and conclusions upon the Chinese character that ought to be accepted as indisputable authority. He says:

> "Among the principal causes of pauperism in China may be mentioned, besides the excessive carelessness of the government and the exuberance of the population, gambling, drunkenness and debauchery. These vices, of course, are not peculiar to China, they have been known in all ages and countries and have always brought disorder and misery in their train. It is true, however, that the Chinese give themselves up to them with a passion never exceeded among any nation that has ever existed.
>
> "Gaming is prohibited by the laws of the Empire, but all legislation on this subject has been overpowered by the habits of the people, and China is now in fact one vast gaming house. Chinese games are very numerous; they play at cards, chess, draughts, dice and tsei-mei, a game similar to Italian morra. He who loses is obliged to pay a cup of brandy. The Chinese are also passionately fond of cock-fights, as well as of combats between crickets, grasshoppers, etc., and these interesting amusements always give occasion to wagers, often to a considerable amount. Habitual gamblers prefer cards and dice; they assemble both in private houses, and in public establishments, a good deal like our

*cafés* except that nothing but tea is drank in them. There they pass days and nights, playing with so much passion, that they scarcely give themselves time even to take their food. There is not a village that has not its gaming house and its professed gamesters.

"The Chinese are, as we have said, industrious and economical, but their cupidity, their immoderate love of lucre and their decided taste for stock-jobbing and speculation easily tempt them to gambling when they are not engaged in traffic. They seek eagerly for strong excitements, and when once they have got into the habit of gambling they seldom or never recover from it. They cast aside every obligation of station, duty and family, to live only for cards and dice; and this fatal passion gains such an empire over them that they proceed even to the most revolting extremities. When they have lost all their money they will play for their houses, their land, and their wives, even, whose destiny often depends on a cast of the dice. Nay, the Chinese gambler does not stop here, for he will stake the very clothes he has on for one game more; and this horrible custom gives rise to scenes that would not be credible did we not know that the passions always tend to render men cruel and inhuman.

"In the northern provinces, especially in the environs of the Great Wall, you may sometimes meet, during the most intense cold of winter, men running about in a state of complete nudity, having been driven pitilessly from the gaming houses when they had lost their all. They rush about in all directions like madmen to try and save themselves from being frozen, or crouched down against the chimneys, which in those countries are carried along the walls of the houses on a level with the ground. They turn first one side toward the warmth, then the other, while their gambling companions, far from trying to help them, look on with ferocious and malignant hilarity. The horrible spectacle seldom lasts long, for the cold soon seizes the unfortunate creatures and they fall down and die. The gamblers then return to their tables and begin to play again with the most perfect composure. Such facts as these will appear fabulous to many persons, but having resided several years in the north of China we can testify to their perfect authenticity."

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"Many ruin themselves with brandy, as others do with gaming. In company, or even alone, they will pass whole days and nights in drinking successive little cups of it until their intoxication makes them incapable of carrying the cup to their lips. When this passion has once seized on the head of a family, poverty, with all its lugubrious train, very soon makes its entrance into the house."

* * * * * * *

"Gambling and drunkenness, then, are the two permanent causes of pauperism in China; but there is a third, still more disastrous.

"Chinese society has a certain tone of decency and reserve that may very well impose on those who look only at the surface and judge merely by the momentary impression; but a very short residence among the Chinese is sufficient to show that their virtue is entirely external, their public morality is but a mask worn over the corruption of their manners. We will take care not to lift the unclean veil that hides the putrefaction of this ancient Chinese civilization. The leprosy of vice has spread so completely through this skeptical society that the varnish of modesty with which it is covered is continually falling off and exposing the hideous wounds which are eating away the vitals of this unbelieving people. Their language is already revoltingly indecent, and the slang of the worst resorts of licentiousness threatens to become the ordinary language of conversation. There are some Provinces in which the inns on the road have apartments entirely papered with representations of all kinds of shameless debauchery, and these abominable pictures are known among the Chinese by the pretty name of 'flowers.'

"The ravages of pauperism, it may well be supposed, must be terrible in a society in which gambling, drunkenness and libertinism are thus largely developed; and, in fact, there do exist countless multitudes perpetually stagnating in vice and misery, and always ready to enroll themselves under the banners of theft and highway robbery. To this pauperism especially, we believe, is to be ascribed the monstrous crime of infanticide, so common in China, and for the prevention of which the charity of Europe, and particularly of France, has been so deeply interested.

* * * * * * *

"As for ordinary infanticides—the suffocation and drowning of infants—they are innumerable, more common, unquestionably, than in any other place in the world, and their principal cause is pauperism. From the information we have collected in various provinces, it appears that persons in embarrassed circumstances kill their new-born female children in the most pitiless manner.

* * * * * * *

"In certain localities, where the culture of cotton and the breeding of silk-worms furnish young girls with suitable occupations, they are allowed to live, and the parents are even unwilling to see them marry and enter another family. Interest is the supreme motive of the Chinese, even in cases where the heart alone ought to have influence."

Again, in referring to the condition of women in China, M. Huc says:

"The public and private servitude of women—a servitude that opinion, legislation, manners, have sealed with their triple seal—has become, in some measure, the corner-stone of Chinese society. The young girl lives shut up in the house where she was born, occupied exclusively with the cares of housekeeping, treated by everybody, and especially by her brothers, as a menial, from whom they have a right to demand the lowest and most painful services. The amusements and pleasures of her age are quite unknown to her; her whole education consists in knowing how to use her needle; she neither learns to read nor write; there exists for her neither school nor house of education; she is condemned to vegetate in the most complete and absolute ignorance, and no one ever thinks of or troubles himself about her till the time arrives when she is to be married. Nay, the idea of her nullity is carried so far that even in this, the most important and decisive event in the life of a woman, she passes for nothing. The consulting her in any way, or informing her so much as the name of her husband, would be considered as most superfluous and absurd.

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"The state of perpetual humiliation and wretchedness to which the women of China are reduced does sometimes drive them to frightful extremities, and the judicial annals are full of the most tragical events arising from this cause. The number of women who hang themselves, or commit suicide in various ways, is very considerable. When this catastrophe occurs in a family, the husband shows, usually, a great deal of emotion, for, in fact, he has suffered a considerable loss, and will be under the necessity of buying another wife."

Such are some of the commentaries upon the character of the Chinese made by M. Huc. A pure-minded, pious, truthful historian, he ranks the world over as an authority whose writings are beyond question, and who has chronicled nothing that he has not seen or learned of through incontestible proofs.

Let us call the next witness. An English authority, John Henry Gray, M.A., LL.D., Archdeacon of Hong Kong, the author of "China: a History of the Laws, Manners and Customs of the People," recognized to-day as a standard authority on Chinese matters, says:

"Of the moral character of the people, who have multiplied until they are 'as the sand which is upon the seashore,' it is very difficult to speak justly. The moral character of the Chinese is a book written in strange letters, which are more complex and difficult for one of another race, religion and language to decipher than their own singularly compounded word symbols. In the same individual virtues and vices, apparently incompatible, are placed side by side. Meekness, gentleness, docility, industry, contentment, cheerfulness, obedience to superiors, dutifulness to parents, and reverence for the aged, are in one and the same person the companions of insincerity, lying, flattery, treachery, cruelty, jealousy, ingratitude, avarice, and distrust of others. The Chinese are a weak and timid people, and, in consequence, like all similarly constituted races, they seek a natural refuge in deceit and fraud.

* * * * * * *

"Their religion is a mass of superstitions; their government is in form—that which of all others is perhaps most liable to abuse—an irresponsible despotism; their judges are venal; their judicial procedure is radically defective, and has recourse in its weakness to the infliction of torture; their punishments are, many of them, barbarous and revolting; their police are dishonest, and their prisons are dens of cruelty. A considerable mass of the population does not know how to read, and nearly everywhere there is a prejudiced ignorance of all that relates to modern progress. Their social life suffers from the baleful effects of polygamy, and, to a certain extent, of slavery; and their marriage laws and customs hold women in a state of degrading bondage.

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"In the houses of wealthy citizens it is not unusual to find from twenty to thirty slaves attending upon a family. Even citizens in the humbler walks of life deem it necessary to have each a slave or two. The price of a slave varies, of course, according to age, health, strength and general personal appearance. The average price is from fifty to one hundred dollars; but in time of war or revolution, poor parents, on the verge of starvation, offer their sons and daughters for sale at remarkably low prices. I remember instances of parents, rendered destitute by marauding bands who infested the two southern *Kwangs* in 1854–55, offering to sell their daughters in Canton for five dollars apiece. The ranks of slaves are also recruited from the families of gamblers, whose losses not unfrequently compel them to sell their children. Amongst the many Chinese friends and acquaintances I made during my residence at Canton, one, an old man named Lum Chi-Kee, was what may be termed a slave broker; and I remember two bright-looking youths being sold to him by their profligate father who had gambled his means away. The oldest had fetched fifty dollars and the younger forty. The old slave-broker offered one of the youths to me at the advanced price of $350. The usual price of an ordinary, able-bodied male slave is about $100.

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"The slavery to which these unfortunate persons are subject is perpetual and hereditary, and they have no parental authority over their offspring. The great-grandsons of slaves, however, can, if they have sufficient means, purchase their freedom."

The Rev. Justice Doolittle, "fourteen years member of the Fuhchau mission of the American Board," in his "Social Life of the Chinese," furnishes the following testimony on the slavery question:

"Parents can sell their children to be slaves or to be the adopted children of the buyer. Husbands can sell their wives to be the wives of other men, not to be their slaves. These who have bought children of their parents can sell them to others. Children are not unfrequently stolen from their parents, taken to some other part of the province or empire and sold for slaves.

"The Chinese use the same terms to indicate the sale and purchase of children and wives that they use when speaking of the sale and purchase of land and cattle, or any description of property."

Here, it will be seen, that there is no distinction made in the sale of the sexes into slavery. But that there may be no cavil on this point let us persue Mr. Doolittle's testimony further. He says:

"The following statements in regard to the marriage of a male slave, and of his owner's control over the slave's descendants have been furnished by a literary gentleman in whose family clan there is such a slave.

"The owner of a male slave, after he has arrived at about thirty years of age at the latest, should procure a wife for him. Some delay doing this until a considerably longer period, but such delay subjects the owner to reproach and the slave becomes more and more dissatisfied and unfaithful. His male children and grand children belong, so to speak, to his owner, and must do according to his bidding, though he may not, or at least usually does not sell them for money."

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"In the year 1858, a man at Fuhchau sold his wife for about $20. Another man about the same time offered his only son, a bright lad of five or six years, for sale for $16.

"He was offered $10 by a man" which was refused.

It is well to halt for a moment in this citation of evidences of authoritative writers upon China and its people, to point out the inconsistencies, nay, the untruthfulness of some American missionary writers who have heretofore undertaken the task of defending Chinese immigration into America upon high moral and religious grounds. One of these writers, the Rev. O. Gibson, in his book on "The Chinese in America," says:

> "The fact is, and intelligent men know it, that, so far as the *male* population of China is concerned, no such thing as slavery, in our acceptance of the term, exists. The Chinese people always regarded with horror the American system of African slavery."

And again, in his sworn testimony before the Congressional Committee, published in the same book, he says:

> "In China there is no system of slavery, so far as the male sex is concerned."

Coming from a man who resided ten years in China, such testimony as this cannot be set down to ignorance; and with such unassailable evidence as has already been given in flat contradiction of his testimony, and which will be presently reinforced by other equally responsible authorities, it certainly bears the semblance of wilful perversion of the truth. Moreover, as will hereafter be made conclusively to appear, Mr. Gibson's book abounds in what may here be mildly designated as misstatements of facts, but which the reader of this may consider should be called by a harsher term.

Let us return to the subject of the Chinaman at home, as seen by other well-known writers. Mr. Conwell, in his book entitled "Why and How," treating in general on the mode of life of the Chinese, has a chapter on "Chinese Slavery," from which a few extracts will not be amiss, in view of Mr. Gibson's statements:

> "The slave in China is whipped, branded, put in stocks and pillories, and otherwise maltreated, as often as were the African slaves in the Southern States of the American Union. They have as hard tasks to perform, as little of the luxuries of life, and are nearly as often separated from their families as were the bondmen in the English Colonies."

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"In China it is not considered respectable for a master to sell a husband away from his whole family, although the girls may be sold at any time. Neither is it *fashionable* to keep a male slave after he is thirty years of age without purchasing a wife for him; but if native evidence is trustworthy, the observance of this moral law is the exception rather than the rule. The male slave is a valuable piece of property, and the heathen master is more apt to use it in the way which will return the greatest dividend, without regard to morality or suffering, than is the slave-owner in civilized lands."

Mr. Conwell also relates in circumstantial detail the method by which the Coolie frequently obtains the means to enable him to come here· And that is, by mortgaging his family to the party advancing him money, which mortgage carries with it the liability of direct sale of wife and children—sons as well as daughters—into slavery, to be sold to the highest bidder. He relates with equal circumstantiality the mode of proceeding in making such sale, and specifically refers to the following instance.

"The sale of a family in Canton in the month of April, 1870, will well illustrate what may become of the delinquent Coolie's family in case of a sale under the bond. This family lived in the town of Tsunghwa, and were mortgaged to a broker in Canton, through a Mandarin, for the price of the Coolie's tickets and a few unpaid debts left behind. His failure to pay made a foreclosure necessary, and consequently a sale. The vendors having made repeated attempts to sell in Tsunghwa, finally brought the family—mother, two sons, and one daughter—to Canton, and exposed them for sale near one of the gates. They were there nearly a week before the first sale was made, and that only included the disposal of the girl to the keeper of a brothel in Hainan for thirty-three dollars and seventy-five cents. Two days after, the youngest son, twelve years of age, was sold to a silk manufacturer among the foreign population of Canton for sixty dollars. The same day the older son, who was eighteen years of age and quite intelligent, attracted the attention of a sea-captain, who, out of compassion gave seventy-six dollars for the boy and put him on board a vessel loading with

Coolies for the southern ports of North America. The extraordinary low price received for the children made the sale of the mother necessary, and, as no Chinaman wanted so old a woman for wife or mistress, she was purchased by a speculator, and afterwards 'let out' to European families as a nurse; and it was from her and the captain that I received the story of the family's misfortune.

"Several instances have been known where such families have been purchased by the agents of ships that were waiting for a cargo of Chinese, and sent to America under a written contract to work for the purchaser a certain length of time after their arrival in America; but they were instructed what to say to the Consul, and of course answered in the negative when asked by him if they were under any contract to labor."

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"The sales, however, by emigrants to America form but an infinitessimal portion of the great traffic in human flesh, made necessary by poverty and two thousand years of superstitious tyranny."

In his "Middle Kingdom" Mr. Williams says:

"The proportion of slaves to free men cannot be stated, but the former have never attracted notice by their numbers, nor excited dread by their restiveness. Girls are more readily sold than boys: at Peking a healthy girl under twelve years of age brings from thirty to fifty taels, rising to two hundred and fifty or three hundred for one of seventeen or eighteen years old. In times of famine orphans or needy children are exposed for sale at the price of a few cash."

Again, he says:

"Slavery exists in a modified form of corporeal mortgage for debt, and thousands remain in this serfdom for life through one reason or another."

But the chief object of alluding thus at length to the question of slavery in China at this moment is to show the utter unreliability of the statements made by the Rev. Mr. Gibson, who stands forward as the champion advocate of Chinese immigration, and justifies his action by such a clearly false presentation of facts as that shown in his treatment of this branch of the subject.

Of all the existing authorities in the English language upon China, Williams' "Middle Kingdom" is perhaps recognized as that of the highest standard. And his testimony of the Chinese character and mode of life is thus summed up by him at the close of his first volume. After crediting them with a full *resume* of all their virtues, he proceeds as follows:

"When, however, these traits have been mentioned, the Chinese are still more left without excuse for their wickedness, since, being without law, they are a law unto themselves; they have always known better than they have done. With a general regard for outward decency, they are vile and polluted in a shocking degree; their conversation is full of filthy expressions, and their lives of impure acts. They are somewhat restrained in the latter by the fences put around the family circle, so that seduction and adultery are comparatively infrequent; the former may even be said to be rare, but brothels and their inmates occur everywhere on land and water. One danger attending young girls going abroad alone is that they will be stolen for incarceration in these gates of hell. By pictures, songs and aphrodisiacs, they excite their sensuality, and, as the Apostle says, 'receive in themselves that recompense of their error which is meet.'

"More uneradicable than the sins of the flesh is the falsity of the Chinese, and its attendant sin of base ingratitude; their disregard of truth has perhaps done more to lower their character than any other fault. They feel no shame at being detected in a lie (though they have not gone quite so far as not to know when they do lie), nor do they fear any punishment from their gods for it. On the other hand, the necessity of the case compels them, in their daily intercourse with each other, to pay some regard to truth, and each man, from his own consciousness, knows just about how much to expect. Ambassadors and merchants have not been in the best position to ascertain their real character in this respect, for on the one side, the courtiers of Peking thought themselves called upon, by the mere presence of an embassy, to put on some fictitious appearances, and on the other the integrity and fair dealing of the hong merchants and great traders at Canton is in advance of the usual mercantile honesty of their countrymen. A Chinese requires but little motive to falsify, and he is constantly sharpening his wits to cozen his customer, wheedle him by promises, and cheat him in goods or work. There is nothing which tires one so much when living among them as their disregard of truth, and renders him so indifferent as to what calamities may befall so mendacious a race; an abiding impression of suspicion toward everybody rests upon the mind, which chills the warmest wishes for their welfare and thwarts many a plan to benefit them. Their better traits diminish in the distance, and patience is exhausted in its daily proximity and friction with this ancestor of all sins. Mr. Abeel mentions a case of deceit which may serve as a specimen.

"Soon after we arrived at Kulang Su, a man came to us who professed to be the near relation and guardian of the owners of the house in which we live, and presented a little boy as the joint proprietor with his widowed mother. From the appearance of the house and the testimony of others, we could easily credit his story that the family were now in reduced circumstances, having not only lost the house when the English attacked the place, but a thousand dollars besides, by native robbers; we therefore allowed him a small rent, and gave the dollars to the man, who put them into the hands of the child. The next month he made his appearance; but our servant, whom we had taken to be peculiarly honest for a heathen, suggested the propriety of inquiring whether the money was ever given to those for whom it was professedly received, and soon returned with the information that the mother had heard nothing of the money, the man who received it not living in the family, but had now sent a lad to us who would receive it for her, and who, our servant assured us, would give it to the proper person. A day or two afterward our cook whispered to me that our *honest* servant who had taken so much pains to prevent all fraud in the matter had made the lad give him one-half the money for his disinterestedness in preventing it from falling into improper hands; and further examination showed us that this very cook had himself received a good share to keep silent.'

"Thieving is exceedingly common, and the illegal exactions of the rulers, as has already been sufficiently pointed out, are most burdensome. This vice, too, is somewhat restrained by the punishments inflicted on criminals, though the root of the evil is not touched. While the licentiousness of the Chinese may be in part ascribed to their ignorance of pure intellectual pleasures and the want of virtuous female society, so may their lying be attributed partly to their truckling fear of officers, and their thievery to the want of sufficient food or work. Hospitality is not a trait of their character; on the contrary, the number and wretched condition of the beggars show that public and private charity is almost extinct; yet here, too, the sweeping charge must be modified when we remember the efforts they make to sustain their relatives and families in so densely peopled a country. Their avarice is not so distinguishing a feature as their love of money; but the industry which this desire induces or presupposes is the source of most of their superiority to their neighbors. The politeness which they exhibit seldom has its motive in good-will, and consequently when the varnish is off, the rudeness, brutality, and coarseness of the material is seen; still, among themselves, this exterior polish is not without some good results in preventing quarrels, where both parties, fully understanding each other, are careful not to overpass the bounds of etiquette.

"On the whole, the Chinese present a singular mixture. If there is something to commend there is more to blame; if they have some glaring vices they have more virtues than most pagan nations. Ostentatious kindness and inbred suspicion, ceremonious civility and real rudeness, partial invention and servile imitation, industry and waste, sycophancy and self-dependence, are, with other dark and bright qualities, strangely blended. In trying to remedy the faults of their character by the restraints of law and the diffusion of education, they have no doubt hit upon the right mode; and their shortcomings show how ineffectual both must be until the Gospel comes to the aid of ruler and subject in elevating the moral sense of the whole nation. Female infanticide, in some parts openly confessed and divested of all disgrace and penalties everywhere; the dreadful prevalence of all the vices charged by the Apostle Paul upon the ancient heathen world; the alarming extent of the use of opium (furnished, too, under the patronage and supplied in purity by the power and skill of Great Britian from India), destroying the productions and natural resources of the people; the universal practice of lying and dishonest dealings; the unblushing lewdness of old and young; harsh cruelty toward prisoners by officers; and tyranny over slaves by masters—all form a full, unchecked torrent of human depravity, and prove the existence of a kind and degree of moral degradation of which an excessive statement can scarcely be made, or an adequate conception hardly be formed."

Bayard Taylor says of them in his work entitled "India, China, and Japan," published in 1855

"It is my deliberate opinion that the Chinese are, morally, the most debased people on the face of the earth. Forms of vice, which in other countries are barely named, are in China so commen that they excite no comment among the natives. They constitute the surface level, and below them are deeps and deeps of depravity so shocking and horrible that their character cannot even be hinted. There are some dark shadows in human nature which we naturally shrink from penetrating, and I made no attempt to collect information of this kind; but there was enough in the things which I could uot avoid seeing and hearing—which are brought almost daily to the notice of every foreign resident—to inspire me with a poweful aversion of the Chinese race. *Their touch is pollution,* and, harsh as the opinion may seem, *justice to our own race demands that they should not be allowed to settle on our soil.* Science may have lost something, but mankind has gained, by the exclusive policy which has governed China for the past centuries."

The Hon. Wm. J. Shaw testified before the Legislative Investigating Committee of California in 1875 as follows:

"I was also assured that a very large portion of the population, particularly the working population, were simply slaves—some of slaves from birth; but as a rule, or at least in very frequent instances, they were enslaved in a manner not unknown to foreign nations, being sold to pay debts. A very large portion of the laboring classes composes this latter class."

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Pekin, in my opinion, is one of the filthiest cities to be found. There is what is called a Chinese city of Pekin and a Tartar city. The Chinese city is filthy to a degree almost beyond belief. I have seen tricks perpetrated in the streets of Pekin proper that would only be tolerated in brutes in a civilized country. When I was there I wondered how ladies could go into the streets at all, and I was told that they hardly ever did; and they never attempted to walk in the streets, but when compelled to go out used the conveyances of that country. When they wanted exercise they were carried to the walls of the city, upon the top of which they could walk without seeing sights that would be disgusting. Those streets are filthy beyond what should ever be seen among human beings. The great mass of the people, it seemed to me, were ignorant, and not in a position to be removed from ignorance. They have, it is true, a system of education, but that system is confined to certain books written four thousand years ago. They think there is no knowledge anywhere that is not found in those books, and, as a consequence, their learning, from the highest to the lowest, must be very limited, according to our ideas."

In no aspect is the moral nature and social life of the Chinese to be commended. Their very presence is not only debasing to all who come in contact with them because of their hideous vices, but in their daily intercourse with each other they are vile to the last degree. Mr. Doolittle, the author of "Social Life in China," says very truly:

"One of the best ways of learning the real moral condition of a people is to ascertain how they talk when excited or exasperated."

And he then proceeds to describe the habits of the Chinese in this respect:

"The Chinese have a large vocabulary of curses, oaths and imprecations. On the most trivial occasions they, almost without exception, are in the habit of imprecating upon those who have excited their anger the most direful vengeance, or expressing their feelings in the most filthy language. Their common language, when offended or insulted, is usually of the most vile description, abounding with indelicate and obscene allusions. They seem to strive within themselves, as though a wager were at stake, who shall excel in the use of filthy, loathsome and vindictive terms. It is one of the most common occurrences in the public streets for two or more Chinese, or parties of Chinese, to bandy back and forth the most vulgar language and utter the most dreadful curses on each other.

"The Chinese here have a saying that their 'mouths are exceedingly filthy,' and no one who has acquired their dialect can have the least doubt of its truth. They have another saying that the 'heart of woman is superlatively poisonous,' meaning that the language uttered by females, when cursing others, is more virulent and filthy than that used by men. It is not easy for a foreigner to perceive the truth of this saying when both sexes seem to have arrived at the highest attainable facility in heaping the vilest language and the most awful curses upon those with whom they happen to be at variance."

Such is the testimony of the most eminent English and American authors who have written upon China and the Chinese from their own experience and observation. Such is the condition of the "Chinese at Home;" such are the people to whom we are now urged by sentimentalists and religious enthusiasts to open wide our gates, to invite to seek an asylum upon our shores, to be with us, and of us, to add new spice and variety to the *Olla-podrida* of race mixture which now constitutes the nationality of the American people.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE INHUMANITY OF THE RACE.

THE patient industry, docility and amiability of the Chinese, and, indeed, every praiseworthy trait of character which they possess, has been elaborated and commended by writers upon China and the Chinese, until, from being idolators themselves they have too frequently been presented as human idols to be venerated for their virtues and admired for their genius. The inhuman side of their natures has generally been turned to the wall and hidden from the public gaze, except by authorities of the high standard already quoted, and to whom it will again be necessary to refer, as well as to other reliable proofs, in dealing with the subject of the inhumanity of the race.

It is well, perhaps, in discussing this branch of the subject, to begin with the so-called "tribunals of justice" in China, and their methods of dealing with the criminals of every degree that are brought before them for punishment. It will be found that the cruelties practiced in their nefarious calling by the criminal classes are more than rivaled by the inhuman tenor of the criminal laws, and the barbarous methods of the judges by whom they are administered.

M. l'Abbe Huc thus relates an experience which befel him in the province of Hou-pé, upon the occasion of entering "a hall of justice" for the purpose of obtaining an interview with the prefect then sitting in judgment in a criminal trial.

"All eyes were immediately turned toward us and a movement of surprise was perceptible throughout the assembly. Two men with great beards, yellow caps and red girdles formed a very surprising apparition.

"For ourselves, at the first glance we cast into the hall, we felt a cold perspiration come over us and our limbs tottered under us; we were ready to faint. The first object that presented itself on entering this Chinese judgment hall was the accused—the person on his trial.

"He was suspended in the middle of the hall, like one of those lanterns of whimsical form and colossal dimensions often seen in the great pagodas. Ropes attached to a great beam in the roof held him tied by the wrists and feet so as to throw the body into the form of a bow. Beneath him stood five or six executioners armed with rattan rods and leather lashes, in ferocious attitudes, their clothes and faces spotted with blood, the blood of the unfortunate creature who was uttering stifled groans, while his flesh was torn almost in tatters. The audience present at this frightful spectacle appeared quite at their ease, and our yellow caps excited much more emotion than the spectacle of torture. Many laughed, indeed, at the horror visible in our faces.

"The magistrate, to whom our coming had been hastily announced, rose from his seat as soon as he perceived us, and crossed the hall to meet us. As he passed near the executioners, he had to walk on the tips of his toes, and held up his beautiful silk robes, that they might not be soiled by the pools of half-coagulated blood with which the floor was covered. He saluted us smilingly, and saying he would suspend the proceedings for a moment, conducted us to a small room situated behind the judge's seat. We sat down, or rather we fell, upon a divan, and were some moments before we could recover our composure.

"The Prefect of Kouang-tsi-hien was nearly forty years of age; his features, the tone of his voice, his looks, his manners, all expressed so much mildness and goodness, that we could not recover from our astonishment. It seemed to us impossible that this should be the man who had ordered the frightful measure we had just witnessed; and so strong a feeling of curiosity took possession of us, that we asked whether we might, without indiscretion, put some questions to him concerning the terrible affair he was engaged in.

"'On the contrary,' he replied, 'I should myself desire that you should understand the nature of this trial. You appear to me astonished at the extreme severity I have shown toward the criminal; the torture he is enduring has moved you to compassion. The emotions that agitated your hearts on your entrance into the hall mounted to your faces, and became visible to everybody. But this criminal does not merit any consideration; if you knew his conduct, you would certainly not think I was treating him with too much rigor. I am naturally inclined to mildness, and my character is averse from all cruelty. A magistrate, also, must be the father and the mother of his people.'

"'What great crime, then, has this man committed, to be subjected to so horrible a torture?'

"'This man is the chief of a band of ruffians, who, for more than a year past, have been committing outrages on the Great River, which they were in the habit of traversing night and day in a large boat. He has pillaged a considerable number of merchants' junks, and committed more than fifty murders. He has ended by confessing all his crimes, and on this point the truth has been brought to light; but he persists in not denouncing his companions, and I am obliged to employ these extreme methods to reach all the guilty.'"

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"The magistrate afterwards related to us some abominable atrocities committed by this gang of robbers, of their cutting out the tongues and tearing out the eyes of men, women and children, of their cutting their prisoners to pieces with circumstances of horrible barbarity; such were the amusements in which these monsters in human form indulged on board their vessel.

"These details, frightful as they were, did not surprise us. *Our long residence in China had taught us to what degree the instinct of evil is developed among this people.*"

The Abbé then relates how he and his companion returned to the court room, where concealed behind a bamboo trellis work, which, by order of the judge had been let down before them, they witnessed further progress of the trial. The suspended prisoner not having answered a question of the judge to his satisfaction—

"The prefect took up from the table a piece of bamboo wood, and threw it into the middle of the court. A figure was marked upon it, which pointed out the number of blows the prisoner was to receive. One of the executioners picked it up, examined the figure, and cried in a chanting tone, 'fifteen blows', that is to say, the criminal would receive thirty, for the executioners always double the number ordered by the judge, and this multiplied by the number of executioners, furnished a frightful total. There was immediately a stir in the assembly, all eyes were fixed with eager curiosity, sometimes on the miserable prisoner, sometimes on the executioners. Many smiled and arranged themselves a little more conveniently on their seats, like people about to witness something interesting.

"The executioners took their places, and soon the body of the criminal was swinging and turning about under the shower of blows, while he uttered terrible shrieks, and his blood spurted out on all sides, and ran down the rattans, reddening the naked arms of the executioners. It was impossible to endure such a spectacle any longer, and we asked one of the officers of the court, who had remained with us, whether there was not any way of getting out without crossing the hall."

Such is the course of criminal justice in China, administered by a judge who says of himself: "I am naturally inclined to mildness, and my character is averse to all cruelty."

But we have not done with the Abbé's experiences in this direction.

"One day, when we were passing along the road leading to Peking, we met a party of soldiers with an officer at their head, escorting a number of carts, in which were literally piled up a crowd of Chinese, who were uttering horrible cries. As we stopped to allow these cart-loads of human beings to pass, we were seized with horror on perceiving that these unfortunate creatures were nailed by the hands to the planks of the cart. A satellite whom we interrogated, replied with frightful coolness: 'We've been routing out a nest of thieves in a neighboring village; we got a good many of them, and as we hadn't brought chains enough, we were obliged to contrive some way to prevent their escaping, so you see we nailed them by the hand.

"'But do not you think there may be some innocent among them?'

"'Who can tell? They have not been tried yet. We are taking them to the tribunal, and by and by, if there are any innocent men among them, they will be separated from the thieves.

"The fellow seemed to think the thing quite a matter of course, and was even a little proud of the contrivance.

"Perhaps what was most hideous of all in this dreadful spectacle was the mocking hilarity of the soldiers, who were pointing out to one another with an air of amusement the contortions and grimaces of the miserable creatures in their agony of pain. If a people can exhibit such barbarity as this in quiet and peaceable times, it may be imagined of what excesses they are capable under the excitement of revolution and civil war."

So far, the testimony of M. l'Abbe Huc upon the inhuman side of the Chinese character. What he has written upon the subject of infanticide, and the selling by parents of children into slavery, has already been told in a former chapter, but might better, perhaps, have found a place here. Still it need not be repeated. It goes to the debit of this people when we arraign them for their inhumanity, and is after all, perhaps, the most inhuman of all the inhuman traits of character which they possess. For what can be more inhuman—this bloody picture of torture not excepted—than the crime of infanticide and the selling of children into hopeless slavery? But let us call the next witness. Mr. Gray, in his "History of the Laws, Manners and Customs of the People of China," says, in speaking of the prisons·

> "They are polluted with vermin and filth of almost every kind, and the prisoners seldom or never have an opportunity afforded them of washing their bodies, or even of dressing their hair, water in Chinese prisons being a scarce commodity, and hair combs articles almost unknown. In each cell are placed large tubs for the use of prisoners; and it is difficult to conceive how human beings can breathe the stench, for the air seems nothing else, which arises from these tubs, more particularly during the hot season."

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> "There is a law which admits of the seizure and detention 'as hostages' of families, members of which, having broken the laws of the Empire, have fled from justice. Such hostages are not liberated until the offending relatives have been secured, and consequently they are not unfrequently imprisoned during a period of five, ten or twenty years. Indeed, many of them pass the period of their natural lives in captivity. Thus the mother, or aunt, of Hung Sow-tsuen, the leader of the Taiping Rebellion, died, after an imprisonment of several years, in the prison of the Namhoi magistrate at Canton. During her captivity I frequently visited the unoffending old woman, and grievously indeed did she feel her imprisonment, for no crime or offense of her own. Should the crime of the fugitive be a very aggravated and heinous one, such, for example, as an attempt upon the life of the

Sovereign of the Empire, it is not unusual to put the immediate, although perfectly innocent, relations of the offender to death, whilst those who are not so nearly related to him are sent into exile. In 1803 an attempt was made to assassinate the Emperor Kahing. The assassin was no sooner apprehended than he was sentenced to be put to death by torture, and his sons, who were in the happy days of childhood, were put to death by strangling."

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"In the month of March, 1859, I saw, in the dead-house attached to the prison of the Pun-yu magistrate of Canton, five dead bodies, all with the appearance of death from starvation—a capital punishment which Chinese rulers not unfrequently inflict upon kidnappers and other grave offenders."

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"In not a few cases I have seen these houses [of detention] so densely crowded as to remind me of the heart-rending history of the Black Hole in Calcutta. I had an opportunity of inspecting one of these 'lock-ups' in the hot month of August, 1861. It was crowded to excess, and—certainly not to my astonishment, for the heat was intense—all of the prisoners were in a state of complete nudity. Had as many Europeans been incarcerated in so small a cell, they must all have inevitably perished."

Again, in speaking of a village near Canton which had been entered by Imperialist troops engaged in the suppression of a rebellion, Mr. Gray says:

"During this rebellion the Imperialist forces, who had driven the rebels from several villages in the vicinity of Canton, proceeded to cut off the ears of many of the innocent and unoffending villagers, asserting that they ought not to have allowed the rebels to enter. In one of these villages which I visited I saw not only men but boys of ten or twelve years of age who had been treated in this brutal manner. I had my attention also directed to a very aged man who had been cruelly scalped; and, upon leaving the village, a man who was following me took me to a place beyond its precincts where three headless human bodies were lying. They were peasants, who, for no offense whatever, had been decapitated by the brutal soldiers."

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"Again, when the city of Canton was recaptured in 1854, several of the insurgents were punished for their sedition in a very singular manner. The infuriated royalists, with the view of marking their prisoners-of-war for life, cut the principal sinew of the neck of each, so that his head inclined towards the shoulder.

"For capital and other offenses of a serious nature there are six classes of punishments. The first class is called Ling-chee. It is inflicted upon traitors, parricides, matricides, fratricides, and murderers of husbands, uncles, and tutors. The criminal is bound to a cross, and cut either into one hundred and twenty, or seventy-two, or thirty-six, or twenty-four pieces. Should there be extenuating circumstances, his body, as a mark of imperial clemency, is divided into eight portions only. The punishment of twenty-four cuts is inflicted as follows: the first and second cuts remove the eyebrows; the third and fourth the shoulders; the fifth and sixth the breasts; the seventh and eighth the parts between each hand and elbow; the ninth and tenth the parts between each elbow and shoulder; the eleventh and twelfth the flesh of each thigh; the thirteenth and fourteenth the calf of each leg; the fifteenth pierces the heart; the sixteenth severs the head from the body; the seventeenth and eighteenth cut off the hands; the nineteenth and twentieth the arms; the twenty-first and twenty-second the feet; the twenty-third aud twenty-fourth the legs. That of the eight cuts is inflicted is follows: the first and second cuts remove the eyebrows; the third and fourth the shoulders; the fifth and sixth the breasts; the seventh pierces the heart; the eighth severs the head from the body. A great many political offenders underwent executions of the first class at Canton during the Vice-royalty of his Excellency Yeh. On the 14th day of December, 1864, the famous Hakka rebel leader, Tai-Chee-kwei by name, was put to death at Canton in this manner. I most inadvertently visited the execution ground five minutes after the criminal had been thus put to death by torture, and I saw the fragments of his remains scattered over a portion of this renowned *Aceldama*. His hands and feet were amongst the most conspicuous portion of his remains."

Mr. Williams, in his "Middle Kingdom," adds his contribution of testimony as follows:

"Among the modes of torture employed in court, and reported in the *Gazette*, are some revolting to humanity, but which of them are legal does not appear. The clauses under Section 1, in the Code, describe the legal instruments of torture; they consist of three boards, with proper grooves for compressing the ankles, and five round sticks for squeezing the fingers, to which may be added the bamboo; besides these no instruments of torture are legally allowed, though other ways of putting the question are so common as to give the impression that some of them, at least, are sanctioned. Pulling, or twisting the ears with roughened fingers, and keeping them in a bent position while making the prisoner kneel on chains, or making him kneel for a long time, are among the illegal modes. Striking the lips with sticks until they are nearly jellied, putting the hands in stocks before or behind the back, wrapping the fingers in oiled cloth to burn them, suspending the body by the thumbs and fingers, tying the hands to a bar under the knees so as to bend the body double, and chaining by the neck close to a stone, are resorted to when the prisoner is contumaceous. One magistrate is accused of having fastened up two criminals to boards by nails driven through their palms; one of them tore his hands loose, and was nailed up again, which caused his death; using beds of iron, boiling water, red-hot spikes, and cutting the tendon Achilles, are also charged against him; but the Emperor exonerated him on account of the atrocious character of the criminals. Compelling them to kneel upon pounded glass and salt mixed together until the knees became excoriated, or simply kneeling upon chains, is a lighter mode of the same infliction. Mr. Milne mentions seeing a wretch undergoing this torture, his hands tied behind his back to a stake held in its position by two policemen; if he swerved to relieve the agony of his position, a blow on his head compelled him to resume it. The agonies of the poor creature were evident from his quivering lips, his pallid and senseless countenance, and his tremulous voice imploring relief, which was refused with a cold, mocking command, "Suffer or confess."

Robert K. Douglas, of the British Museum, Professor of Chinese at King's College, London, and author of a late work on China, upon the subject of the inhumanity of the Chinese, furnishes the following evidence:

"But the greatest blot on Chinese administration is the inhumanity shown to both culprits and witnesses in criminal procedure. Tortures of the most painful and revolting kind are used to extort evidence, and punishments scarcely more severely cruel are inflicted on the guilty parties. Flogging with bamboos on the hind part of the thighs or between the shoulders, beating the jaws with thick pieces of leather, or the ankles with a stick, are some of the preliminary tortures applied to witnesses or culprits who refuse to give the evidence expected of them. Further refinements of cruelty are reserved for hardened offenders, by means of which infinite pain and often permanent injury are inflicted on the knee-joints, fingers, ankles, etc. Occasionally the tortures pass the limits of endurance, and death releases the victim from his miseries; but as a rule, in the 'severe question,' life is preserved, but at the expense of crippled limbs.

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"It follows, as a natural consequence, that in a country where torture is thus resorted to, the punishments inflicted on criminals must be proportionately cruel. Death, the final punishment, can unfortunately be inflicted in various ways, and a sliding scale of such executions is used by the Chinese to mark their sense of the varying heinousness of murderous crimes. For parricide, matricide, and wholesale murders, the usual sentence is that of *Ling che*, or ignominious and slow death. In the carrying out of this sentence, the culprit is fastened to a cross, and cuts, varying in number, at the discretion of the judge, from eight to a hundred and twenty, are made first on the face and fleshy parts of the body; next the heart is pierced, and finally, when death has been thus caused, the limbs are separated from the body and divided. During the year 1877, ten cases in which this punishment was inflicted were reported in the *Peking Gazette*, in one of which, shocking to say, a lunatic was the sufferer, a circumstance which adds a weird horror to the ghastly scene.

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"It is almost impossible to exaggerate the horrors of a Chinese prison. The filth and dirt of the rooms, the brutality of the jailors, the miserable diet, and the entire absence of the commonest sanitary arrangements, make a picture too horrible to draw in detail."

In 1860, Sir Henry Parkes and Mr. Loch, two Englishmen, were treacherously taken prisoners, and confined in the prison of the Board of Punishments at Peking. In Mr. Loch's "Narrative of Events in China," he describes their treatment thus:

"The discipline of the prison was in itself not very strict, and had it not been for the starvation, the pain arising from the cramped position in which the chains and ropes retained the arms and legs, with the heavy drag of the iron collar on the bones of the spine, and the creeping vermin that infested every place, together with the occasianal beatings and tortures which the prisoners were, from time to time taken away for a few hours to endure, returning with bleeding legs and bodies, and so weak as to be scarce able to crawl—there was no great hardship to be endured . . . There is a small maggot which appears to infest all Chinese prisons; the earth, at the depth of a few inches, swarms with them; they are the scourge most dreaded by every poor prisoner. Few enter a Chinese jail who have not on their bodies or limbs some wounds, either inflicted by blows to which they have become subjected, or caused by the manner in which they have been bound; the instinct of the insect to which I allude, appears to lead him direct to these wounds. Bound and helpless, the poor wretch cannot save himself from their approach, although he knows full well that if they once succeed in reaching his lacerated skin, there is the certainty of a fearful, lingering and anguishing death before him."

Mr. Douglass, after quoting the foregoing extract from the narrative of Mr. Loch, proceeds as follows:

"In the provincial prisons, the condition of the wretched culprits is even worse than in those of the Board of Punishments. Those who were present at the first inspection of the Canton prison, after the taking of that city in 1859, will never forget the sight which met their gaze. As the wretched creatures were dragged out into the light of day, and the full horror of their condition became apparent, English soldiers who were present wept as they had not wept since they were children, at the sight of such unutterable suffering. There is no reason to suppose that the

Canton prisons are not typical of others throughout the Empire; on the contrary, the gross neglect and abominable cruelty of magistrates and jailors, which are occasionally shown up in the *Peking Gazette*, point to the conclusion that other jails are as foul, and other wardens are as brutal even, as those of Canton."

But why prolong this tale of horrors? Enough has been shown to convince every honest-minded man that this is a race whose inhuman instincts are not surpassed by those of the American savage; that it permeates every class, from the highest to the lowest; that their so-called tribunals of justice are but torture-chambers; that their criminal laws are but the refinement of cruelty, and the very natures of the people the essence of stoical, cold-blooded brutality. Without religion themselves, they are but demons in their hatred of Christianity, as they have shown themselves to be upon hundreds of occasions, in all of which their brutal cruelty and unparalleled inhumanity have been exemplified in the most thrilling manner. Take the massacre of Teintsin, on the 21st of June, 1870, and which was thus described by a writer familiar with the facts:

"The French Consul and foreign merchants, their wives, daughters and children; the Catholic priests and the Sisters of Mercy, and about one hundred orphan children, were cruelly murdered. These children had been gathered by the Sisters from the by-ways of the town, where they had been left to die by their mothers. The Coolies set fire to the building occupied by the Sisters, whom they dragged into the streets. There they were stripped naked, outraged, exposed to the public gaze, their eyes plucked out, their breasts cut off, then ripped open, tore out their hearts, and deliberately cut them in pieces and divided the fragments among the infuriated mob."

The Author of "Twelve Years in China," "A British Resident," Edinburgh, 1860, says:

"Justice is depicted blind, but in China the bandage that darkens the eyes should cover the ears also. The horrors of a Chinese prison are so great that prisoners, deeming death an escape, go with apparent contentment to the place of execution. In Shanghai I have seen them crammed like wild beasts in a cage, rolling about in the midst of filth and disease, begging for food. In the depth of winter prisoners are chained to each other in strings, one of them not unfrequently hanging dead to his comrades. Once a party of pirates were seized and landed near the foreign houses; there had been a deficiency of chains, so the poor wretches were joined together with a large nail clenched through the hand of each. At Foochow, I met a prisoner whom they were carrying into the city in a cage barely large enough to contain his body, cramped up in a sitting posture; two of the bars at the top had been cut to allow his head to pass through, every jostle or step in the movement of his bearers causing his face to be dashed against the broken bars. It is in the recollection of Canton residents when four men were placed in the *cangue*, with a guard around them, and publicly starved to death in the open streets."

Mr. Doolittle, in his "Social Life of the Chinese," heretofore referred to, says, in speaking of "Imprisonment:"

"This kind of punishment, except in the case of those who are rich or who have rich friends willing to bribe the jailors to treat them well, is awful and revolting beyond description. Insufficient and vile food is given them, and horrible tortures unknown to the laws inflicted.

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"Beheading convicts, of two methods, differing in degree of ignominy: One is that of simply striking off the head of the wretch at one blow, while kneeling, with his hands tied behind him, and while bending down his head. The other is that where the body of the victim is mangled or cut in several places previous to his head being struck off. This is called '*cutting into small pieces*' It is described as cutting into the eyebrows or over the eyes, the cheeks, the fleshy part of the arms and the breasts in such a way that the skin of the flesh in these different places will hang down. Then a stab is made with the sword by the executioner into the abdomen, which is followed by cutting off the head.

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"Women who are condemned to die as a punishment for committing adultery are oftentimes made to suffer death this way."

Mr. Doolittle further testifies on the subject of the horribly inhuman practice of infanticide:

"In the farming districts in the neighboring country the family which has several girls born to it destroys all after one or two, unless some of their acquaintances desire them to bring up as future wives of their boys. In this city [Fuhchau] the custom of killing girls at birth is probably not so universal as in the country. Some intelligent Chinese estimate that the probable proportion of city families which destroy one or more of their female children, in case they have several, and do not have good opportunities of giving them away to be the wives of their friends, as about one-half.

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"The principal methods of depriving the unfortunates of life are these: By drowning in a tub of water, by throwing into some running stream, or by burying alive. The latter method is affirmed to be selected by a few families in the country under the belief that their next child will be a boy. The most common way is the first mentioned. The person who usually performs the murderous act is the father of the child.

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"The professed reason for the destruction of female infants by poor people is their poverty.

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"Poverty is no excuse for the drowning of the female children of the rich. But that infanticide is practiced quite frequently by wealthy families rests on the most explicit and ample testimony, the observation and the admission of their neighbors and their countrymen. One of the female servants above mentioned states that in the native wealthy family where she was employed before she came to labor in the missionary's family, one girl had been already destroyed, two had been kept alive, and it was understood that if the last child had been a girl it would also have been destroyed, for the simple reason *that more girls in the family were not desired*. The rich here usually destroy the girls born to them after they have the number they wish to keep and rear."

It is proved, then, by such an accumulation of evidence as to put it beyond question, that satanic cruelty and inhumanity are an inseparable trait of character of the Chinese race; for in one form or another it permeates every class. The poor sell their own flesh and blood into slavery, and look on at the practice of these cruelties, perpetrated in the name of the law and by the officials of the law, with the same degree of cold-blooded interest and satisfaction that more civilized people exhibit upon occasions of theatrical or other like displays. The rich, the law-makers, and every class, in fact, sanction these hellish practices, and through all and among all, indifference to human suffering is a race characteristic equally as well marked as is the type of form and feature by which they are known. As a race they are without pity. Whatever disguise of gentleness and docility they may wear, as a people they are proved to be monsters. The rich and poor alike destroy the lives of their female children with as little display of parental feeling or compunction of conscience as would be exhibited if they were puppy dogs; and, indeed, it may well be believed that under some phases of the Buddhist doctrine of metempsychosis the destruction of the life of the latter would be looked upon by most of the race as the greater crime and the greater sin.

Our system of laws and fear of our courts of justice may restrict this people in the exercise of their satanic inclinations when they come among us; but just so far as they can go without detection and punishment in the practice of cruelties toward each other and toward all with whom they are brought in contact—saying nothing of their constant violation of the civil and criminal laws in other methods—just so far they will, and do go, in the practice and perpetuation of their hideous inhumanity. For in this respect, as in all others, the Chinaman is the Chinaman still, whether upon his native soil or transplanted to other lands, and should excite no other feeling but that of horror and disgust in the breasts of all civilized people with whom he is brought in contact.

Let us turn to the testimony of the inhumanities of the Chinese upon American soil.

It is in proof that most of the Chinese women in California—all of the Chinese prostitutes, in fact—are simply slaves. Brought here as such in the first instance, bought and sold here from time to time in absolute defiance of the law, and treated, often, worse than the dogs that haunt the streets and live upon the offal of the gutter. On this point we will cite first Mr. Gibson, who, despite his pro-Chinese proclivities, has from time to time been compelled to tell some plain truths as to the habits and the cruelties practiced toward this class, in perpetuation of their natural proclivities. In his examination before the Legislative committee in 1876 he testified as follows:

Q.—Is it not a well settled matter that a great many people are held in slavery here—bought and sold?

A.—Only the women. I don't think there is a man so held. The women, as a general thing, are slaves. They are bought or stolen in China and brought here. They have a sort of agreement, to cover up the slavery business; but it is all sham.

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*Mr. Haymond.*—Then, so far as the women are concerned, they are in slavery, with more hard features than have been known to white races?

A.—Yes, sir. And even after the term of prostitution service is up, the owners so manage as to have the women in debt more than ever, so that their slavery becomes lifelong. There is no release from it.

Q.—When these people become sick and helpless, what becomes of them?

A.—They are left to die.

Q.—No care taken of them?

A.—Sometimes, where the women have friends.

Q.—Don't the companies take care of them?

A.—Not frequently.

Q.—Is it not a frequent thing that they are put out on the sidewalk to die, or in some room without water or food?

A.—I have heard of such things. I don't know. I don't think they are kind; I think they are very unkind to the sick. Sometimes the women take opium to kill themselves. They do not know they have any rights, but think they must keep their contracts, and believe themselves under obligations to serve in prostitution.

Q.—What is their treatment? Is it harsh?

A.—They have come to the asylum all bruises. They are beaten and punished cruelly if they fail to make money. When they become worn out and unable to make any more money, they are turned out to die.

James H. Bovee, jail-keeper in the Sheriff's office, testified:

Q.—How do they treat their sick and helpless?

A.—I have seen them thrown out on the street and on the sidewalk, and I have seen them put into little rooms without light, bedding or food. There they were left to die.

Q.—What opportunities have these women to escape, if they should desire?

A.—I don't see that they have any at all, for where a woman escapes a reward is offered and she is brought back. Where they can get her in no other way they use our courts.

Matt. Karcher, for many years Chief of Police for Sacramento City, testifies (Evidence, p. 131):

Q.—Do you know what they do with their sick when they become helpless and unable to make more money?

A.—Put them in some out-house, or on the sidewalk, to die.

Q.—Without food or bedding?

A.—Generally. I have found men and women, both, in that condition. I have found them by accident, while hunting for other things—stolen goods, criminals, etc.

Q.—You found women without food or drink, and without covering?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—And death would have come from disease or starvation, or both?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—Is that the common way of disposing of these women when they become useless?

A.—Yes, sir, if not the only way.

Q.—They are less cared for than are useless domestic animals by the white race?

A.—A great deal less.

Geo. W. Duffield, a San Francisco police officer, testified in regard to Chinese prostitutes:

> The women are treated now a great deal better than they used to be. They used to receive very rough treatment. They have not been beaten much lately, because the police watch them and arrest them for beating. When they become sick and helpless they send them to the hospitals, or leave them to die. Sometimes they leave them with a cup of rice, to die without attendance. They take no care of them when they get sick. I have caught Chinese in the act of turning the sick out to die, leaving them on the sidewalk and in the street to perish.

Oliver C. Jackson, a Sacramento police officer, testified:

> Q.—Do you know what is done with these women when they become sick, helpless and incurably diseased?
>
> A.—Where they see that they will be of no further use to make money, they turn them out on the sidewalk to die. I have seen men and women also turned out to die in this manner. I have found dead men while searching for stolen property, and I have had the Coroner attend to them. * * A great many die in out-of-the-way places, abandoned by the Chinese, without food or drink.

James Duffy, another Sacramento police officer, testified:

> Q.—When Chinese become hopelessly sick, what do they do with them?
>
> A.—I know of cases where women, hopelessly sick, have been turned out to die of disease or starvation, or both. I have been with undertakers after the bodies of such persons. One we found alone in a wash-house, dead. There was no furniture in the room, and nothing for the sick woman to subsist upon.

James Coffey, another Sacramento police officer, testified:

> Q.—Do you know whether these women are owned or not?
>
> A.—They are bought and sold just like we buy and sell cattle. The merchants here, who claim to be connected

with the six companies, also claim ownership of these Chinese women.

Q.—Do you know what they do with these women when they become sick and helpless?

A.—Some are taken care of, and some are placed in rooms by themselves to die. Then hardly anybody goes to see them. They are turned out to die. I have known two cases of that kind in Chinatown during the last year—one man and one woman.

Ah You, a Chinaman doing business as a butcher in Sacramento, testified:

Q.—When those women get sick and are going to die, do they put them in houses by themselves, without food or water?

A.—In case a woman got no husband, and don't know enough to go to the hospital, they put her out of the way.

Q.—Why don't the Chinese companies take care of them when they are sick?

A.—The company can't attend to much business of that kind.

Chas. P. O'Neil, a police officer in Sacramento for twenty years, testified:

Q.—Do you know how these women are treated by the persons who own them?

A.—It looks to me like they were very closely confined in the houses. I have known the masters and mistresses to whip the women, but I have never heard of it a second time where I have gone and cautioned them. When they become sick and helpless they turn them out to die. I have known two cases where they have put them in empty houses and left them there to die. In one case I took the woman and had her conveyed to the hospital, where she died. I found her in a high fever, alone, in an unfurnished room. She was sitting in a corner, moaning. I found the party who hired the room and the party who put her there. I went for him, but he "got up and dusted." I haven't seen him since. The Chinese have some superstition in regard to persons dying in their houses, and that will probably account for the manner of treatment. They believe that to let one die in the house brings bad luck.

David Supple, a San Francisco police officer, testified in regard to Chinese prostitution:

Q.—Do you know what they do with them when they become sick and helpless?

A.—They put them out on the street to die. I have had charge of the dead myself, on the street. I have seen sick and helpless women turned out in that way.

Such is the picture of Chinese inhumanity here, leaving out of view the system of cruel assassination which they openly practice with a *quasi* official license from their own self-constituted authorities, and which will be alluded to later on. It is this people whom the Rev. Mr. Speer compares with our own, and between whom he finds the following similarity:

> "Each (America and China) is occupied by a people naturally thoughtful, earnest, acquisitive and enterprising; each by a people strangely conglomerate, yet strangely hemogeneous; each by a people among whom intellect and education constitute the only patent of nobility; each by a people the freest upon its own continent, and governed mainly by the rules of its own selection; and each country is now in the travail of a change from old bondage and feebleness to new power, light and influence, which will be felt to the very corners of the earth."

Is it not a crime, as well as a sin, that men clothed in the garb of gospel ministration should seek to to mislead public thought by such monstruous propositions as this in the face of such testimony of the utter depravity and barbarity of a race of people thus placed on parallel lines with our own? Is it not worthy of the condemnation of mankind that a race imbued with these attributes of inhumanity should be held up as fit material for admixture with our own and as having been sent to our shores by divine command to become with us, in one hemogeneous whole, living examples of the "common brotherhood of man"?

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE CHINESE ABROAD.

THE evidence as to the manners and habits of the Chinese at home is conclusive. Conceding all that may be said in their praise as to their habits of industry and their frugality, there can be no doubt or question that this, the oldest known civilization in the world, is rotten to the core with vice and crime, with sensuality and lust, with the universal indulgence in all the baser passions, and no better motive for their industrious inclination than the love of money, than sordid, unfeeling avarice. It is in proof that there is no human abomination or cruelty that they do not practice. That they are a race to which the attribute of gratitude for favors or kindness bestowed upon them is unknown. That contact with Christianity, when they emigrate to the very strongholds of Christianity itself, leaves but a trace of impression upon the outward surface of their lives. That for every human soul converted from their ranks to the Christian faith, they plant a hundred vices in our midst and scatter the seeds of disease that render thousands of lives but chapters of misery, leaving out of view the perdition of the hereafter which our Christian faith sternly attaches to their sin. The practical illustration of this will be found embodied in the report of the Special Committee of the Board of Supervisors of San Francisco, which constitutes Part II. of this work.

That the banners of Christianity and Christian civilivation may be advanced throughout the remotest confines of the Chinese Empire by never ceasing missionary work upon Chinese soil itself, may well be our prayer and our faith. But that these people should be invited to our shores in countless thousands in the hope and expectation of Christianization here, is a proposition too horrible to the physical, moral and religious well-being of our own people to be thought of—judging from the frightful evidence which the presence of the thousands who are already here have furnished in the story of their lives so far, and the faithful picture of their condition at present wherever they are gathered together in communities among us.

Beyond question, if left unchecked, the most liberal prognostications that have yet been made by writers upon the Chinese question as to the millions upon millions that will swarm in upon us, will be verified. Possibly the American Republic is not strong enough, possibly there is not wisdom enough in the land to enact laws that will prevent the fulfillment of their prognostications; but the time has come, and the issue is joined; the contest must be made. Two races, standing face to face with each other, between whom, as history thus far shows, there can be no assimilation, are contending for industrial supremacy upon this Continent. Can any rational mind doubt where the victory will rest, unless the broad ocean that separates the two continents which each inhabit shall be declared an impassible barrier across which the invading race shall not pass? The American sentimentalists who find in "The Declaration" certain immutable principles which it would shock their very natures to see trenched upon, who live and die in the political faith that all men are born free and equal, that ours is a land which divine wisdom has set apart as an asylum for the oppressed of all nations, who believe in the universal brotherhood of man, will do well to study the picture of the "Chinese at Home," thus far furnished them in the preceding statement of the case. They will continue to do well by examining all that is to follow, showing how perfectly successful the race has been in transplanting their idolatry, their vices, their diseases, and all their contaminating influences in immigrating to these shores.

How utterly wasted have been the presumably regenerative influences of Christian contact, and how utterly fallacious, in this instance at least, becomes the sentimental theories of the common brotherhood of man. They will do equally well to study the question of Chinese emigration to other lands, where in every instance they will find that the American example is but a reptition of all that has gone before. That the Chinaman is the same everywhere, still clinging to the idolatry, the habits and vices of his race, with stubborn, clannish tenacity, wherever he may be found in contact with a Christian people, whether that contact be a thing of the present, or as it has been in some instances a matter that has withstood two centuries of test.

The Chinese settlements in the Islands of the Indian archipelago, some of them dating back past the middle of the seventeenth century, those of our own age in Australia, in British Columbia, in our own country, saying nothing of the coolies of South America and the West India Islands, all present in their main features a repetition of "Chinatown" in San Francisco, equally impregnable against the influences of Christianity, equally characterized by the vices of the race, equally filthy, and equally as well marked in race proclivities and physical characteristics. With a few rare instances of exception, where they have been brought in contact with kindred races of the Philippine group, the Chinaman remains a Chinaman wherever he has settled outside of the "Flowery Kingdom," uninfluenced for good by contact with other races, but disseminating with frightful regularity his vices and their hereditary fruits among all who surround him.

In 1824–25, Chinese were first introduced into Singapore by English merchants, to engage in the manufacture of rope mats, etc. A "Chinatown" was established there, which, from that day to this, has remained as well marked, as exclusively Chinese in its aspect as is the Chinese quarter in San Francisco.

"When the number had increased to several thousand," says Conwell, "a ship-load of prostitutes was brought down from Macao as a matter of speculation. These were followed by others, until Chinesetown was filled with them. The attention of the gEnlish authorities being called to the subject, and the Chinese fearing the removal of their mistresses, took them in marriage according to the custom of China."

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"As for the character of the woman, it has no weight with a Chinaman of the laboring class, as virtue in a woman seems to be of no consequence to him. From these marriages sprang up a generation of children who have since intermarried among themselves, and who know no other home."

Originating in this manner the "Chinatown" of Singapore stands to-day simply a reflex of the "Chinatown" of San Francisco. Not a single feature in the social condition of its inhabitants exhibits the slightest evidence of tendency to assimilation with the Caucasian elements about them; but Chinese in all its characteristics, it remains and will remain until every one who now proclaim that the doctrine of the common brotherhood of man must be typified and exemplified in the American Republic by inviting the race hitherward without limit, shall have passed away and generation after generation of their successors in belief shall have followed them.

Speaking further of the characteristics of the Chinese in Singapore, the writer just quoted says, in language that might with equal force and equal truth apply to the habits of the Chinese in San Francisco:

"They take good care of their own persons, but their houses, children, cats and dogs are filthy in the extreme. The stench about their dwellings is almost unendurable to a European; and the cesspools and slimy ditches in their back yards would breed the cholera in the most salubrious climate in the world. While the Chinaman is cleansing the house of his employer and removing every particle of dirt with scrupulous care, his family at home are living in the most slovenly quarters, where vermin of a hundred species revel in luxurious nastiness. How they can go from neat stores or fine drawing-rooms, where they are employed, to eat and sleep in these foul quarters is a mystery which I have yet to hear explained."

The colony at Penang, on the Prince of Wales Island, (Molucca) originated some years later, but in a similar way to that of Singapore. There, with a population of about sixteen thousand, a "Chinatown" exists which is a direct counterpart of that at Singapore in all its features, and there the same line of non-assimilation is drawn with the same exactitude. The same writer, in describing his visit to this settlement, says:

"How bad the filth might appear were it not for the rich foliage of the trees overhead that attracts the eye, or how offensive its odors might seem did not the spice trees drown it with sweetness, I will not venture to say."

And he adds:

"As far as the Penang and Singapore colonies are concerned, there can be said to be but little difference between the habits, customs, or religious faith of the Chinese there and in China."

Sir John Bowring in his "Visit to the Philippine Islands," says, in speaking of the Chinese colonies there:

"There are few facts of more interest in connection with the changes that are going on in the Oriental world than the outpouring of the Chinese population into almost every region eastward of Bengal; and in Calcutta itself there is now a considerable body of Chinese, mostly shoemakers, many of whom have acquired considerable wealth, and they are banded together in that strong gregarious bond of nationality which accompanies them wherever they go, and which is not broken—scarcely influenced—by the circumstances which surround them.

* * * * * *

"Yet they are but birds of passage, who return home to be succeeded by others of their race.

* * * * *

"Thousands upon thousands of Chinamen arrive, and are scattered over the islands, but not a single Chinese woman accompanies them from their native country. In the year 1857, 4,233 Chinamen landed in the port of Manila alone, and 2,592 left for China.

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"In 1855 there were in the fortress of Manila 525 Chinamen, but of females only two women and five children. In Binondo, 5,055 Chinamen, but of females only eight, all of whom were children.

* * * * * *

"No women have been obtainable either for the British or Spanish colonies, though the exportation of coolies had exceeded 60,000, and except by kidnaping and direct purchases from the procuresses or brothels, it is certain no women can be induced to emigrate. This certainly ought to be seriously weighed by the advocates of the importation of Chinese laborers into the colonies of Great Britain.

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"When a Chinese is examined under oath, the formula of cutting off the head of a white cock is performed by the witness, who is told that if he do not utter the truth, the blood of his family will, like that of the cock, be spilt, and perdition overtake them. My long experience of the Chinese compels me to say that I believe no oath whatever—nothing but the apprehension of punishment—affords any, the least security against perjury.

* * * * * *

"But little disgrace attends lying, especially when undetected and unpunished, and the art of lying is one of the best understood arts of the government."

In Australia the Chinaman is the same that he is in California. "The Chinese element," says the editor of the Melbourne *Age*, "is not only unchangeably foreign—it is, besides, imbued with such inherent, corruptive influences that its presence has a directly demoralizing effect." The *Herald* speaks in like terms: "The commercial advantages which we derive from their presence do not compensate for the degradation which, question the fact as we may, is felt by the European and all of European descent in being associated with the Chinese in numerical proportion which they assume in this community. The disgust which their habits excite is not limited to the man of refined tastes, but is felt by all sorts and conditions, from the humblest digger on the gold fields to the honorable member on his easy seat in the Legislative Council."

An English writer in *Household Words* has the following:

"The writer of this paper has seen much of the Chinese character developed on the gold fields of Australia, and he is bound to admit that many of the charges brought against it are true. The Chinese in Australia never speak truth when a falsehood better serves the purpose of the moment; and, when they have a chance of filching from the European, nothing can escape their fingers. They are adepts in the making of false gold; and it is hard to keep them from fouling the water-holes, by which all are supplied—a matter of much moment in a warm, dry climate. Nor is this the worst. Women and children of tender age frequently receive gross insult and outrage at their hands, so that it is not safe for a family to live near their encampments. The colonial public was recently shocked by the gross cruelty involved in the details of the forcible expulsion of the Chinese from the Buckland diggings. Subsequent information showed that insults offered by them to the families of European residents had provoked outrage in retaliation.

"Again, their habits are not pleasant. Crouching in their low, squat tents, huddled together, dirty in their own persons, careless of their removal of filth from their own dwellings, Australian Chinese in encampment create a very Tartarus of foul sights and foul smells."

In 1875 the Board of Health of Sydney, New South Wales, appointed a sub-committee "to inspect and report upon the condition of the Chinese in that town." An extract from the report of the committee will suffice to show the condition of the Chinese there:

"Met at the Town Hall on Tuesday, December 7, 1875, and went first to Park street, where we inspected several boarding-houses, all clean and in orderly condition. In the same street is a wooden house containing eight rooms, occupied by Wah Lu Ong, a Chinaman carpenter, employing a number of men. Seventeen persons sleep in the house, all countrymen of the proprietor. In one room, 14x12 feet, were eight beds, the room being partitioned off into bunks like the steerage of a ship; bedding of a very bad kind. In some bunks were mattresses, in others only rags and clothing; mosquito curtains black with dust. In another room over the shop were five rooms of a similar description. We looked into the kitchen down stairs, which was dirty and smoky. The whole place stinks aloud, the horrible and sickening opium smell pervading all through it. Among the workmen were several apprentices. The workmen on wages, we ascertained, earn from 10s to 15s a week and their food. This day's inspection was not performed without serious fatigue and risk to the health to Dr. Read and myself. For the next forty-eight hours the horrible, sickly smell of opium smoking, which pervades all the Chinese quarters, seemed to adhere to us, to say nothing of the fear of infection."

In December, 1877, Mr. Macalister read a paper before the Royal Colonial Institute in Queensland from which the following extract is taken.

"Nowhere, (he says) has the Chinaman settled in any considerable numbers that he has not created a blot on our institutions. Even in cities among the amenities of city life, the Chinese quarter is viewed with loathing. Nowhere has he blended with the Anglo-Saxon, the interval between them is so great that it cannot be passed. The progressive ideas of civilization do not harmonize with those dwarfed by age. They are not colonists in our acceptance of the term; they come alone and do not bring their babies or families with them. Dr. Huc asserts of them, that they are sceptical and indifferent to every thing that concerns the moral side of man. And this estimate of them has double force when applied in the exceptional conditions under which they live in Queensland. They regard a good coffin as of more importance than a correct life, and certainly what we hear of their habits, though unfit for description, is sufficient to deter a government from forcing them on a people unwilling to receive them. They do not speak or understand our language, have no desire for progress, and have no conception of representative or free institutions. They come to Queensland for none of the ordinary mechanical pursuits of life, their secret is simple enough—to take possession of the gold fields, to extract from the earth its auriferous deposits, and to this extent to impoverish the country; and, having done this to return to China and there spend their days. They invest no capital in our undertakings, and undertake no industries of a permanent character. After they have gone there is no trace of their existence, not even a tombstone; their very ashes they make an effort to have transplanted to the 'Flowery Land.'"

Sir Thomas Herbert, in *Herbert's Travels, page* 364, in the quaint language of his times, describes the character of the Chinese in the islands of the Indian Archipelago. Long ago as this was written, it describes the habits of the Chinese of to-day wherever they colonize, and the language used might equally as well apply to "Chinatown" in San Francisco as to the Chinese colonies in either of the islands referred to. It is another proof that the character of the Chinese is unchangeable, and that vice is its major constituent element.

> "The Chyneses are no quarrelers, albeit voluptuous, costly in their sports, great gamesters, and in trading too subtile for young merchants; oft times so wedded to dicing that after they have lost their whole estate, wife and children are staked; yet in little time, Jew like, by gleaning here and there, are able to redeem their loss, if not at the day, they are sold in the market at most advantage."

Dampier, in his account of Achin, says of the Chinese:

> "But as their business decreases, their gaming among themselves increases, for a Chinese if he is not at work, had as lieve be without victuals as without gaming; and they are very dexterous at it."

Mr. Crawford in his "History of the Indian Archipelago" and in speaking of the Chinese who had settled there when he wrote, more than sixty years ago, says:

"The Chinese settlers may be described as at once enterprising, keen, laborious, luxurious, sensual, debauched and pusillanimous."

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"They are the least conscientious people alive; the constant prospect of gain or advantage must be presented to them to induce them to fulfill their engagements, which they will always evade when their judgment is not satisfied that an adherence to them will be certainly profitable."

All this too, might as well have been written in our own times and applied with truth to the Chinese in America, as to have been written in an earlier century and applied to earlier generations of the race colonized elsewhere.

The proof then, is incontrovertible, that the Chinaman, transported to other lands than his own, is the Chinaman still, with all his native habits and inclinations, with all his filth, with all his clannishness, with all his diseases, with all his hideous vices. No more than the leopard can change his spots, can the Chinaman change; at least until through long generations of contamination of the race which undertakes the task, and the sacrifice of the physical and moral health of a hundred of the individuals of such self-sacrificing race for every Chinaman reformed and christianized.

From the practical side of the question—stripped of the halo and the glamour with which the exstatic thoughts and beatific aspirations of the religious enthusiast and the sentimentalist surround it—is it not a monstrous crime against humanity itself, and necessarily a crime against Divine laws, to continue longer the advocacy of Chinese immigration?

It is true that the race is already planted upon American soil. It is true that it is a living, vital element, already through the generative process of and by the material now among us, multiplying and increasing through the resistless laws of nature. It is true that they are here to stay, and that there is no method that does not violate the laws of God and man by which we may rid ourselves of them. But is that, with all the exhibit that has been made, and that later on will be made further, of the blight and pestilence which their presence in a civilized Caucasian community begets, a good and sufficient reason why we should continue to enlarge the risk and the evil which their unlimited admission involves, why we should thus court an evil which our experience thus far proves to be a curse to humanity? To put an end to the further influx of this race, and to deal wisely with those already here, is a problem large enough and serious enough in itself to employ the best thought and action of the American people, without taking upon themselves a heavier burthen at present. Particularly is this true, when the fact is considered that as the case stands the brunt of the battle and the test in this experimental contest of races is necessarily borne by the people of California, and of San Francisco in particular. Upon them is forced the stern duty and the moneyed cost, of so dealing with, and regulating the residence, habits, and modes of life of those already here and those who may come hereafter, that the least possible evil may be borne and disseminated by reason of their coming. Is it just that they should be put to further cost, and further local risk and burthen, that the sentiment of the "common brotherhood of man" may be fostered, and the bigoted cant of the short-sighted religious enthusiast be appeased?

## CHAPTER V.

### THE INCONSISTENCIES OF MISSIONARY WRITERS.

THERE is no dispute or question as to the reliability of the authors herein quoted, except such as comes mainly from missionary writers. Their religious zeal blinds their ability to entertain a thought beyond making a Christian convert out of an idolator, regardless of the cost of such conversion to the Christian community, in the spread of vice, disease and immorality, by reason of the contact with the race, from which the heathen convert is to be snatched like the "brand from the burning." And it is these writers who have never ceased to misdirect public opinion, who have made use of constant misrepresentation in the presentation of the Chinese question; who have either ignorantly or otherwise falsified facts, and suppressed or distorted the truth.

If commerce and manufactures in all their details can better be directed by clergymen than any other class, if lessons in political economy can be better and more wisely inculcated by them; if the police direction, the administration of punishments for crime, the exercise of stern measures for the suppression of vice, can more safely be left in their hands, or at the supervision of the man of God, than in the hands of those members of society who ordinarily exercise these functions; if the clergy are the true statesmen of the land, the true political economists, then the question of Chinese immigration may be safely left with them, and their precepts in regard to the same may be safely followed. But it is not likely that even the most earnest advocate of Chinese immigration will take the affirmative of these propositions in so far as such supervision of his worldly affairs might be affected thereby. Why, then, should the advice and the dictum of the missionary, as such, be any longer a potential factor in the consideration of the Chinese question? Grant the truth of the sublime precept that

> "God moves in a mysterious way,
> His wonders to perform,"

does it necessarily follow that the movement of Asiatic races toward these shores is necessarily a resultant of divine command? No missionary has yet written upon this question since Chinese immigration into the United States commenced, who has not directly or indirectly taken the affirmative of this proposition. If we concede its correctness, then discussion is ended, for a Christian people will hardly be found opposing the divine will however severe may be the chastisement under which they are suffering. The world is too enlightened, however, and men of to-day are too independent in thought to be governed by such bigoted fanaticism as this, in the face of the fact that Chinese immigration in itself is the parent and disseminator of all the vices and all the sins known to the decalogue against which every precept of Christianity—religious or moral—is arrayed in merciless condemnation.

And yet, here are some of the theories taught in their books by missionary writers upon the Chinese question.

The Reverend William Speer, in his book on "China and the United States," says in his introduction:

> "The man who waits for the consolation of Israel of the latter days must praise God for the new force which his almighty power has given to the immense work of regenerating the continent of Asia, through the multitudes of its people to be brought hither, enlightened with Christianity, and returned to it again. Taken in whatsoever aspect we will, the coming of the Chinese to America is excelled in importance by no other event since the discovery of the New World. It is one of the impulses, beyond all human conception or management, by which God is moving the history of mankind onward to its great consummation."

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> "The knowledge of modern ages in the West, and the introduction of labor-saving machines, will expel myriads from China as the bees swarm and hive in the spring; and any reasonable man who will consider no more than the statements of this paragraph, must conclude that attempts to prevent their coming to the New World are as ridiculous and futile as it would be to endeavor to change the laws of Nature, which cause the soil of the mountains to descend into the valleys, or the floods of rain to force a channel to the sea. The day is coming when many millions of Chinese will be dispersed over the Pacific coast, the Mississippi valley, the wastes of the northern portion of the continent, the provinces of Mexico and Central America, the whole con-

tinent of South America, where already there are several thousands of them, and over all the island groups or island continents of the Pacific Ocean, where indolent races are departing, having accomplished their mission, to make room for them. To find a place and use for a handful of vile African slaves, who were brought here in a condition little above the brutes, in the place of the great temple of civil and religious freedom which the Supreme Governor of the world is rearing upon this continent to be a blessing to all its nations, has cost us an indescribable amount of discussion and trouble, ending in a stupendous and calamitous civil war. An hundred-fold more importent is it to understand fully, and to treat with wisdom and justice from the beginning, the race whom He is now bringing to our shores—one so incomparably greater than the negro in numbers, in civilization, in capacity to bestow immense benefits on our land or to inflict upon it evils which may end in its ruin. Our faith in that God and in His word lead us to hope that their coming shall be for good to us and them."

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"And in all the general measures, legislative or commercial, which we adopt in reference to this element of our population, we ought to remember that *we are not acting for temporary or personal or our own national interest, but that we are set by divine Providence in a position which demands that we should be inspired by loftier and broader motives* which are derived from the suggestions of history, a sincere devotion to the best interests of humanity and by an humble and earnest desire to be but the instruments by which the Superior Being shall execute His great and beneficial plans."

Now, while this writer takes the position that in dealing with this question we "are not acting for temporary or personal or national interests," but are simply dutifully acquiescing in the Divine will in order that the unacountable purposes of the Supreme Being may be fulfilled, he proceeds in the very next chapter to treat of Chinese labor and the great advantages which it offers in the promotion of our national interests, and offers that as an inducement why Chinese immigration should be encouraged. He says:

"The wages paid for Chinese labor in this country will, in the first place, be cheaper than any other. * * * * They will, in the future, probably not command the rates paid white laborers," etc. etc.

So that we have first, the admonition that we are not to consider personal or national interest but only the carrying out of the Divine behest, and in the next breath the selfish side of our natures is appealed to, showing how profitable this labor will be to us as an inducement for us to become converts to the advocacy of Chinese immigration. Such is the consistency and the logical method of dealing with this subject by this class of sentimental and impractical writers. Such doctrines as these coming from the pen of a minister of the gospel are monstrous. He is "led to hope" from the faith which is in him that Chinese immigration is the work of God, but he admits in the same breath that "it may inflict evils" upon the country, "which may end in its ruin." And this is the kind of argumentative pabulum that is given to the American people to induce them to the countenance and advocacy of this influx of human degradation upon us. Search this ponderous volume through and with the exception of the recital of the evils growing out of the opium habit, there is hardly more than a bare allusion to the habits and vices of the Chinese at home, as shown in the extracts already given from other writers. Page after page is devoted to a delineation of the social life of the better classes, the higher schools of morality and all the better aspects which it is possible to set down to the credit of this people. A picture is drawn pleasing to the taste, consoling to the thought of accepting without limit their immigration to our shores, and all for the glory of God and the spread of Christianity. For while the author, as has been shown, is not quite sure that it may not result in ruin to the country, yet, he begins his book as stated, and ends with the benediction:

"The beginnings of this movement of the Chinese race are in themselves small; but wherever the members of it in coming days shall be scattered, among the Christian homes or fields or factories of our country, let us hope that the divine design in bringing these strangers from far will be kept in diligent remembrance."

Let us turn now to the work of another missionary, the Rev. O. Gibson, whose utter inconsistency, not to say insincerity, has been pointed out once already. In this book, "The Chinese in America," many frank admissions are made in regard to the vices of the Chinese, for which the author is entitled to all credit; but for perversion of fact, misstatement and misapplication of ordinary business rules and commercial laws, the work is a monumental success. Submitted in manuscript to the Rev. M. C. Briggs, the introductory preface is written by him, and closes in these words:

"The Chinese are here by the order of Providence, the principles of the Declaration, the provisions of the Treaty, and here they are sure to stay till better reasons for their expulsion can be shown than any which have yet appeared."

Parenthetically it may be remarked that if, according to the persistent doctrine of the clergy, as here again expressed, the Chinese are here "by order of Providence," then, even though "better reasons for their expulsion can be shown than any that have yet appeared," yet reasons however cogent and unanswerable are necessarily in such case void and useless, if it be not blasphemous, to offer them in the face of divine command. It is indeed strange that one who sets it down to the credit of divine command so earnestly in the first instance should be so inconsistent as to utter in the same breath the possibility of there being reasons to the contrary. But it furnishes another instance of the illogical methods of the profession when dealing with the practical realities of life quite as glaring as that which has already been pointed out in the case of Mr. Speer, who believes it is the act of Providence, but is not quite sure that it may not "result in ruin to the country." But to return to Mr. Gibson:

"The coming of so many idolaters to this Christian land," says Mr. Gibson, "has brought new and grave responsibilities upon the Christian Church. The heathen, for whose conversion to Christianity the Church has so long been praying—the heathen to whom the Church has occasionally sent a representative, a messenger, a missionary of the blessed Gospel—one hundred and fifty thousand of those very heathen, God has now, by His most wonderful providence, brought to these Christian shores, to these United States of America. There is reason to believe that the Church at large in America has not clearly appreciated the situation; has not carefully measured the responsibility which God has thrust upon her. While the principal attention has been directed to the far-away 'pagodas and zenanas and decaying heathenism of India,' and she has been sending her sons and daughters in force to preach the Gospel to the waiting Hindoos—subjects of a Christian government—God Himself, in spite of the counsels of men, has been bringing the Chinese heathen, in tens and scores of thousands, and planting them on this Christian soil."

And so on, *ad nauseum*. Such is the underlying thought of the missionary class who have written upon the question of Chinese immigration, and such are the doctrines that the American people at large have partaken of with avidity and from which they have largely based their opinions upon the question of the national policy which ought to be adopted in the matter. The plain and logical deduction is, that if Chinese immigration into the United States is ordained by God; if it is His will that it should be so, that the heathen may be converted to Christianity, as these fervid missionaries assert, then the opposition to it which nearly the whole people of the Pacific coast set up is an unpardonable sin. Then the late treaty and the Restriction Act are monumental national sins; then are we, indeed, in danger of eternal damnation.

If there is one thing next after idolatry to be abhorred it is Christian bigotry. And the Chinaman bowing and distorting his figure before some hideous idol is worthy of no severer condemnation—not to say contempt—than the narrow-minded Christian bigot who in this enlightened age promulgates such balderdash as this; such blasphemy, in fact, against the Supreme Ruler of the universe who, as the incarnation of love for his Christian children, would surely never inflict such calamities upon them as those which follow in the train of Chinese immigration, even that the seeds of Christianity might be sown in the soil of Paganism. Let Mr. Gibson stand up further and testify as to what has been accomplished in this work of Christianizing pagans thus brought by command of the Creator to our shores. Let us see if the religious theory is borne out by practical results, even by his own statement of the case. Meeting face to face, here in this Christian land, Idolatry and Christianity have wrestled with each other. Let Mr. Gibson furnish us with an example of how it has fared with each in the contest, by way of illustration:

> "I cannot refrain from referring just here to what seems to be blindness on the part of the Baptist Missionary Society in America. The first Baptist Church of San Francisco, a large and commodious building, one of the first, and for a long time one of the most popular Protestant churches on the Pacific coast, was situated on Washington street, just on the verge of Chinatown. As the Chinese population increased and began to swarm on Washington street, this church became less and less available for the use of an English-speaking congregation, but every day it became better and better adapted for a Chinese Mission-house—better located for this purpose than the property that any other church had been able to secure. The trustees of the church and the Baptists of San Francisco saw the providential indications, and, while regretting the necessity of leaving their temple of worship and commencing anew in some other locality, they rejoiced that their house might still continue to be a temple of the living God, and be used as a strong fortress of the blessed Gospel to stay the tide of heathenism and idolatry which was beginning to surge all around it."

Just here let us pause to note how quick the Christian church became "less and less available" for worship, how urgent the "necessity of leaving their temple of worship and commencing anew in some other locality" became as idolatry in solid phalanx advanced upon it. Does this tend to fortify the theory that the Chinese are brought here by Divine command that paganism may fall before the resistless force of Christian contact? Does this cowardly retreat of a Christian church speak well for asserted, sincere determination and effort to convert the pagan? Would Christ the Redeemer have retreated before such a host? But let us hear from Mr. Gibson further:

> "The property was valued at $35,000; but the trustees, willing and anxious to do their part in this good work, offered the property to the Baptist Missionary Society for a Chinese Mission at $25,000. But the Society strangely, and as it seems to us blindly, declined to accept the offer and undertake the work. The heathen themselves became purchasers, and what was lately the First Baptist Church of San Francisco is now a crowded tenement house, full of all manner of filthiness. shame and vice. Where but lately was the altar of the living God, now smokes the incense of idolatry. That sacred temple where once the voice of prayer and praise to God was heard, now echoes with idolatrous chants and bacchanalian songs. Instead of standing firm against these incoming hosts of idolatry and sin, the church of Christ has beaten an ignominious retreat, has surrendered without a struggle one of her strongest fortifications and retreated in disorder before the swarming hosts of idolatry; a burning shame, a standing reproach to Christianity in general, and to the Baptist Missionary Society in particular."

Score one for the theory of the religious enthusiast who sees in Chinese immigration a Divine dispensation for the uses and purposes of pagan reformation.

Let us resort again to the testimony of Mr. Gibson, to ascertain what advance, according to his statement, Christianity has made upon this grand army of pagans thus assembled here at the Divine command. In his chapter on missionary effort, he gives the following summary up to May, 1876, showing the

"TOTAL NUMBER OF CHINESE CHRISTIANS BAPTIZED IN AMERICA."

| | |
|---|---|
| Presbyterian Mission | 80 |
| Presbyterian Churches | 46 |
| Methodist Mission | 44 |
| Methodist Churches | 5 |
| Congregational Churches | 45 |
| Baptist Mission, San Francisco | 15 |
| Baptist Mission, Oregon | 15 |
| Episcopalian Churches | 1 |
| Scattering, not reported | 20 |
| Total | 271 |

But, further on in his book, in the chapter on "Chinaman or White Man—Which?" he says:

"Now the facts are—and if Father Buchard reads the papers he ought to know the facts—that as the result of Protestant efforts in this direction in this country, about one hundred Chinamen have been baptized and received into the various churches."

Again, still further on, in the reprint of his testimony before the Congressional Committee, he says:

"In California there are about three hundred Chinese who have been baptized and received into the different Protestant churches."

And yet, once more, in his testimony when asked how many were converted to Christianity, by the Legislative Committee in 1876, he says:

"I suppose that in this city there may be, in all, one hundred. I do not know."

And these are specimens of the recklessness of statement with which this book abounds, and which ought to condemn it forever to the limbo of public pity for its author and public disregard for its assertions. It is but proper to repeat the remark that it is this kind of unreliable teaching, this persistent recklessness of statement on the part of missionary writers especially, that have misdirected and misled public sentiment upon the Chinese question, and resulted in the perpetration of the most monstrous crime against public morals, against the Christian religion, against the welfare of the people of the Pacific coast, and indeed of the whole nation, that will ever be recorded in the history of our times when it comes to be written.

As if to give official sanction to this narrow-minded church bigotry, the clergymen composing the Puget Sound Association of Congregational Churches held their annual meeting at Whatcom, Washington Territory, recently, and among other things adopted the following resolution:

"*Resolved,* That this Association regards the present law adopted by the United States Congress for the exclusion of Chinese from this country as anti-Christian, and wholly opposed to the principles of our free institutions."

Can Christian bigotry be guilty of more intense human folly than this, in the light of the facts that have been herein presented? Men who, under the guise of ministration of the Gospel, take such a position as this, so inimical to the welfare of their own race, who manifest such an entire indifference to the wrong and the demoralizing influences which Chinese immigration inflicts upon the youth of their own people, and such an intense sympathy for the heathen horde that this class of immigration throws among us, are not only unworthy of their sacred calling, but are alike deserving of the contempt of the real Christian world. Nothing could more forcibly illustrate the infantile capacity of the clergy, as a class, to teach lessons in political and social economy to the practical world; nothing can more perfectly illustrate the truth of the aphorism that "the cobbler should stick to his last." A just and well-directed criticism upon this resolution is the following from the San Francisco *Evening Post,* with which this branch of the subject may be dismissed:

"The Puget Sound brethren are evidently afflicted with that deplorable narrowness of vision which is produced by the habit of looking at things too steadily from one point of view. It is the prevalence of this infirmity among preachers which accounts for the fact that throughout the country they are, for the most part, arrayed against the interests of labor, so far as the question of Chinese immigration goes. From the preacher's point of view the main business of life is to make converts to Christianity. The Chinaman is a pagan, and America is a Christian country; therefore, if the Chinaman can be brought to America the chances of converting him are better than if he remained in China and had the gospel carried to him by the missionary. This is the clergyman's argument, and it is logical enough so far as it goes; but the proposition takes in too few factors. The minister, when considering the Chinese problem, apparently forgets for the time being that white people, as well as Chinamen, have souls. He does not reflect that if the spiritual part of the coolie can be saved by bringing him here, other souls may be endangered while the work of redemption is in progress. The Mongolian immigrant does not surrender all his time to receiving Christian instruction. A considerable share of his attention is, as a matter of fact, given to earning his living. While doing this he produces effects upon the white population which are of spiritual as well as material importance. Because of the low price at which he sells his labor, he drives white men and women out of employment, and fills the places which should be open to our children when they reach the working age. Idleness is thus forced upon a considerable part of the population, or else a style of cheap and dirty living must be accepted. So we find that the Chinaman who comes for the gospel brings with him for our own people, by way of return favors, squalor, ignorance and vice—these being the legitimate children of such wages as the Chinaman compels his competitors to work for. As squalor, ignorance and vice are the foes of religion always, it is manifest that what Christianity may gain in Chinese converts is more than lost by the increase of whites who become degraded below the influence of religion.

"The brethren of the Puget Sound Association will readily admit that the souls of fallen women are worth saving. But would the brethren think it wise to open the doors of their houses to such women in order that the unfortunates might be surrounded by a Christian atmosphere, especially if the castaways displayed no special desire to become Chistians? We think not; yet the brethren, by the resolution we have quoted, have declared that the American people, in deciding that they will keep the door of the national family closed to those polluting Asiatics—a case precisely analogous—have acted in a manner 'anti-Christian and wholly opposed to the principles of our free institutions.'"

## CHAPTER VI.

### CHINESE CHEAP LABOR FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF CALIFORNIA.

The favorite line of argument with the pro-Chinese theorists is, that the industrial resources of California could not be developed without the aid of "Chinese cheap labor." That the Central Pacific Railroad was built through the agency of Chinese labor; that every agricultural and mechanical industry has been developed through this agency; and, in fact, the whole material prosperity of the Pacific coast is due alone to this "blessing in disguise" which a wise Providence has conferred upon this people.

This opens up a new theory which quite upsets the American boast and the world's recognition of American energy and ability to build up new and prosperous communities, new States, and new cities and towns. It argues that we have been all wrong on this point, and that we are a supine and helpless race who have been long waiting for some such divine dispensation as this to aid us in our undertakings.

To be sure, we have, in a slip-shod sort of way, managed to push civilization during the past half century out into what was fifty years ago a wilderness, and that we have founded and built up great populous and prosperous States in that wilderness, doubled and quadrupled our national wealth, threaded the land with thousands of miles of railroads, and in various ways managed to attain quite a respectable rank among nations; and all without the aid of "Chinese cheap labor." It was left to the modern political economists, and to the modern missionary writer in particular, to point out the fact that all that has gone before is a mere makeshift, and that heathen help is the necessity of the hour to enable us to reach the true zenith of our national glory. Let us hear some of their philosophic disquisitions on this point. The Reverend Mr. Speer comes forward with the following assertion:

> "The construction of railroads has given employment to eight or ten thousand at a time. But for the opportunity to perform this work by Chinese labor, it is declared by the directors of the Central Pacific Railroad they would not have dared to undertake it."

It is not a pleasant task to be constantly called upon to disprove statements made by missionary writers upon this subject; it is an unpleasant duty to place preachers of the gospel in the attitude of falsifiers; and yet what is to be done in view of this constant iteration and reiteration of statements that are void of a shadow of truth, and which are made merely for the purpose of misleading public opinion and educating the public mind in wrong directions? This statement that the directors of the Central Pacific Railroad ever declared that they would not have dared to undertake the work without Chinese labor is simply not true. It is a creation of the mind of Mr. Speer, and has no other foundation to rest upon. It is an easy matter to prove this.

In the course of the investigation of the Chinese question by the Congressional Committee, some years ago, Mr. Charles Crocker, one of the directors of the Central Pacific Railroad, testified as follows:

Q.—Did you commence the construction of the Central Pacific with white or Chinese labor?

A.—We commenced with white labor.

Q.—How long did you continue it?

A.—We never discontinued it; we have always employed white labor.

Q.—I mean, how long did you continue with that kind of labor exclusively?

A.—We continued almost a year and a half, when we found we could not get sufficient labor to progress with the road as fast as was necessary, and felt driven to the necessity of trying Chinese labor. I believe that all our people were prejudiced against Chinese labor, and that there was a disposition not to employ them.

All this cuts no important figure in the real matter at issue, except so far as it goes to illustrate once more the recklessness of statement of a missionary writer upon the subject of Chinese immigration, and conclusively demonstrates that the testimony of this class of writers, upon the well-settled principle of *falsus in uno falsus in omnibus*, is practically valueless. For what shall we say of a writer upon this subject who can deliberately promulgate the proposition that "*it is declared by the directors of the Central Pacific Railroad they would not have dared to undertake it but for the opportunity to perform it with Chinese labor*" in the face of this testimony of Mr. Crocker's?

Let us present a few more samples of the deep thought and logical reasoning expended upon this branch of the question by these wise political economists, our friends the missionaries who have written upon the subject. Mr. Gibson says:

"Without the Chinese we could not manufacture anything on the Pacific Coast and compete with importations from the East."

* * * * * *

"In fruit raising, for which California is wonderfully adapted, up to this time Chinese labor is indispensable. Probably not a single strawberry ranch in the State is carried on, or could be carried on with any profit without the employment of Chinese labor. This is a kind of industry in which the Chinese excel all competitors. Yet with this industry carried on almost exclusively by "*Chinese cheap labor*," our strawberries cost more by the pound than in New York, Philadelphia and Chicago."

The fallacy of the propositions here stated by Mr. Gibson will be easily shown. His statement as to the relative cost of strawberries in San Francisco and in eastern cities may as well be denounced here, however, as utterly false, and so absurd in its conception, so ridiculous to the mind of every Californian who knows to the contrary, that it suggests inquiring into the question of the sanity of the man who could utter it.

"The Chinese nearly, if not wholly, monopolize the manufacture of these overalls in California. But then, until the Chinese began to make them, none were made on this coast, the entire supply being imported from the East."

* * * * * *

"On Washington street, the Chinamen manufacture all kinds of ladies' fine underwear. Some people object to this, but if the ladies would only make their own, the Chinamen would not get the job. We can hardly blame the Chinese for making them. Surely it is better that the Chinamen make these indispensable articles than that the dear people should go without them."

Our reverend political economist is trying his hand at philosophizing and satire, in addition to his other accomplishments. Again, said Mr. Gibson:

"At the rates of labor * * * which would instantly prevail were the Chinese removed from our midst, not one of the few manufacturing interests which have lately sprung up on these shores would be maintained a single day.

"Were it not for the competition of Chinese labor, the few woolen mills, rope factories, iron foundries, cabinet factories, shoe factories, and such like industries lately commenced, must be closed at once."

* * * * * *

"So this Chinese immigration, by reducing the price of unskilled labor to a point where capital can afford to employ it, will tend to multiply our industries and enrich the State, and in this way they will certainly open doors for the employment of thousands of white laborers who otherwise could not find employment on these shores, so that the Chinese, instead of displacing or lessening the demand for white laborers, really stimulate the demand and create a market for more."

This is the chatter of shallow thinkers. It is profitless to follow it. Is it not the essence of folly to presume for an instant that the Central Pacific Railroad would not have been built had it not been for Chinese cheap labor? An enterprise so liberally endowed as that was by the General Government, and aided by local authorities in this State. True it is, that the enterprising men who entered upon and accomplished that great work would not have made as many millions as they did by reason of their employment of Chinese cheap labor; but would not the profit have been great enough to have furnished the incentive to prosecute the work by the aid of American labor, and would not the distribution of the wages, and such portion of the extra profit which they made by the employment of Chinese, among American laborers, have been vastly better for the State, the country and for civilized human happiness than is the case with the wages earned and carried back to China, and this extra profit concentrated in a few hands? Is it not true in regard to every industry that has been developed through the medium of Chinese cheap labor in California? Has it not resulted in enriching the few who employed their labor for these purposes, sent so much earned wage money out of the country instead of distributing the wages and the extra profit thus made among American laborers? Assume, if we please, that many of these industries would not have been developed unless this class of labor had been at hand and available: is that an argument in its favor? Does American prosperity rest upon this mean, selfish line of policy? Is not the "greatest good to the greatest number" the rule that should prevail to the exclusion of all other theories? Wherein does the market value of labor—skilled and unskilled—differ in civilized communities from the market value of commodities? The laws of supply and demand govern it as they govern the value of commodities. The exception to the rule is found in the States of the Pacific Coast, California especially, for these reasons. Labor is high in this section to-day, comparatively speaking, notwithstanding the presence of the Chinese. And the simple reason is that American laborers will not flock to these shores, high though the wages may be, because they will not enter into competition with Chinese. And assume that they did, would not the Chinaman, with his rat-like mode of life, still "cut under," though the American laborer came "like an army with banners?" And would he not, as the cheaper laborer, still be employed by the capitalist until the prices of labor, in order to hold their vantage ground, had dropped even to the standard of labor in the Flowery Kingdom itself, while the Chinaman, from his slum and his burrow, still grinned defiance to his American competitor? How, then, can the American free laborer ever compete with Chinese cheap labor if the horde still flows in upon us and swamps him in the depths of their own degradation?

There is another view of the effects of Chinese cheap labor in the development of the agricultural industries of California, which has not heretofore been dwelt upon, if it has been promulgated at all. The grain or fruit growers testify that they could not carry on their enterprises successfully except for Chinese labor. That is to say, the large land owner or cultivator could not conduct his business at a satisfactory profit without this labor. Now the cry has been for years that California lacks population; but what is wanted is the laboring, productive classes, with their families, to occupy the uncultivated lands and to enlarge both our population of producers and our consumers. But what is the first difficulty met with in increasing our population with this desirable material? Simply, in the first place, that the land is held by large owners, and at prices too high to induce this class of population to come here, so long as they can obtain good lands in the intermediate Territories at figures but little beyond the government price. And why is land so held here, in such large tracts, and at from thirty to three hundred dollars an acre, except that by reason of this Chinese cheap labor available for the capitalists who so hold such lands, they are made to pay a profit per acre, which makes the land worth these prices to them, and at less than which they naturally will not sell. Now, suppose this Chinese cheap labor had not been here—had not been available—would not the land-owner gladly have parted with it at prices sufficiently low to have induced immigration and purchase by the small farmer? and would not the State have been far more largely the gainer, through this system of development of her industries and her resources, than she is to-day by the system which calls a thousand-acre farm, or a hundred-or-so-acre vineyard, into existence to enrich a few large land-owners, and thousands of Chinese who depart from the country with their gains, and leave nothing but their heritage of disease and vice behind them as their contribution to the welfare of the country?

What is true touching the land question in this connection is true touching manufactures. How many of our own people are the gainers by the manufactures which are carried on in Chinatown, and in California, in fact, by reason of the use of Chinese cheap labor? You may count them upon your fingers. They embrace a few rich firms who employ this labor for their own profit, to the exclusion of the thousands of white laborers to whom it would otherwise fall, and hundreds of smaller capitalists who necessarily take the place of employers. Take the article of overalls, for example, which are manufactured in "Chinatown" in enormous quantities. They are sold in the market simply at prices a shade lower than the same article manufactured in the East could be laid down here for, and the very laboring classes of this coast who cry out most loudly and most justly against Chinese labor are the men who purchase and wear them—the very consumers of the article. The few rich houses for whom they are manufactured reap the enormous profit thus derived from Chinese labor, while the Chinaman gets away with the money that should rightfully go to feed the families of the white men and women into whose hands this, and all other like manufactures, would inevitably have fallen in due course long before this, had Chinese labor not been here at hand. It results, then, in enriching the few capitalists and the Chinamen themselves, and grinds the white laborer down into a grade of poverty that must inevitably grow worse and worse—if this immigration is to continue—until the Chinese level in modes of life has been reached by white men and women alike—until the predicted assimilation shall have been accomplished by finding them reveling in the same slum and sleeping in the same burrow together. Such is the true picture of the development of the industries and resources of California by means of Chinese cheap labor, which industries, we are told by the advocates of the system, could not exist here were it not for the advantages which this class of labor offers.

Thoughtful men who will reason upon this feature of this absorbing subject, who will dismiss theory and religious or political sentimentalism from their minds, who will reason solely from cause to effect, taking any example of the relation of labor to capital that may suggest itself to their minds, will arrive at no other conclusion than that these frequent assertions that the resources and industries of California could not be developed without Chinese free labor, are the veriest fallacies that ever obtained lodgment in the human brain; that they violate every precept of sound political philosophy, and foster the perpetuation of a too long practiced public wrong. No man of ordinary intelligence who will study the question can reach any other conclusion then this, unless he be blinded by prejudice; and no man of ordinary intelligence will ever permit himself to be so blinded.

The "Address to the People of the United States," issued by the California Legislative Committee of 1876, covered this and kindred points so clearly and so completely that an extended extract from it may well find a place here. For it cannot be too often presented to the consideration of the people of the whole nation, and the truths that it inculcates might well find a place in the text books of the public schools of every town and hamlet of the Republic:

"In considering the Chinese question, it is necessary to remember that however true economic axioms are, their applicability depends upon the character of the convictions held by those who are to exercise final judgment regarding them. Thus, it may be perfectly true, in an economic point of view, that capital ought to be free to employ the cheapest labor it can procure. It may also be perfectly true that the employment of cheap labor stimulates manufactures and quickens the creation of capital. But it does not at all necessarily follow that the effects of an unlimited supply of cheap labor are beneficial to the majority, and in a country where the majority rule it must be ultimately impossible to gain consent to economic systems which cannot be shown to produce this general satisfactory result. Nor are the staple arguments of the political economists proof against the single fact that under a government by universal suffrage it is impossible to persuade the masses into accepting a ruinous competition with cheap labor. But in truth there are two distinct theories of political economy at present in conflict, and it is easy to see that their radical differences are due to the differences of political systems. The European theory may be said to leave the personal equation out of consideration altogether. It assumes at the outset that the production of capital is the alpha and omega of industry and commerce, and it takes for granted that wealth means success. Cheap labor, according to this theory, is always acceptable, and competition should be left free to regulate wages. If the workingman cannot earn more than bread and water because of the fierceness of competition, he must accept his meagre fare cheerfully, and console himself with the reflection that the laws of supply and demand have settled his lot for him, and that complaint is useless. In countries where the voice of labor is powerless, and where the usage of centuries has accustomed men to this life-long struggle for the bare necessaries of life, this theory is endured. But the United States represent a different form of government, a form of government which begins by recognizing popular rights, and goes on recognizing them to the end. Here the people are the government, and, as in all nations, the majority must work for a subsistence, the question whether the majority shall work for starvation wages, or shall insist upon reasonable remuneration, can only be answered in one way. And thus out of this more popular form of government has arisen what may be called the new political economy. This is the theory that takes largest account of the personal equation, instead of ignoring it; which lays down the proposition that the greatest happiness to the greatest number is the true end and aim of all legislation and government, and which holds that great aggregate wealth is a far inferior desideratum to general moderate prosperity. It is from this especially American standpoint that the Chinese question must be discussed, for assuredly it will at last be settled in accordance with these views. Let it be shown that without the Chinaman our local industries would be paralyzed; that our manufacturers could not compete with Eastern rivals; that a great many undertakings involving much capital would fail. All this may be granted, and yet all this is insignificant when the broader aspect of the question comes to be considered. For, after all, what is it that we are doing here upon the Pacific Coast?

"Are we engaged in building up a civilized empire, founded upon and permeated with the myriad influences of Caucasian culture? or are we merely planted here for the purpose of fighting greedily, each for his own hand, and of spoiling a country for whose future we have no care? If the latter, then indeed we should welcome Chinese labor, and should encourage its advent until it had driven white labor out of the field. But if we have higher duties—if we owe obligations to our race, to our civilization, to our kindred blood, to all that proclaims our common origin and testifies to the harmony and consistence of our aims—then assuredly we must decide that the Chinaman is a factor hostile to the prosperity, the progress, and the civilization of the American people. And be it observed that, however broad our philosophy, it must necessarily be limited by race, nationality and kindred civilization. We owe allegiance to those whose blood runs in our veins; to those who boast a community of ancestry, of literature, of progress in all its forms and phases. Europe, not Asia, appeals to us, and we should be recreant to those instincts which are often the safest guides if we imperiled the future of our own race by subjecting them to a competition for which they are unfitted, and the only effect of which could be to brutalize and deteriorate them. There are some very 'advanced' thinkers who maintain that competition is the truest test of superiority, and who even go so far as to assert that if American labor cannot compete with Chinese labor the fact proves its essential inferiority, and indicates the Chinese as the coming race. Now, perhaps, if we were on the lookout for a civilization, and were prepared to judge dispassionately between all comers, we might be persuaded by such arguments, and might regard with indifference, or even approval, the prospect of the Mongolianization of this whole country. But as the case stands, we already possess a civilization, and it is American and not Chinese. Imperfect as it may be, and full of defects, it is at least our own, and it represents the labors, the thoughts, the aspirations, the struggles of men of our own race and blood. To it we must therefore cling, and whatever possibilities of development we have must be grafted upon it. For the Chinaman we have no hard feelings, and no senseless hatred. We willingly admit that he offers a tremendous temptation to capitalists, and to all others who need work done at low rates. But when all is said that can be said in his favor, we still fall back upon the consideration that it is American and not Chinese civilization that we are trying to build up, and that since Chinese labor means American destitution, we must rid ourselves of it. To such as think differently, we would further say: Do you believe that the intelligent millions of workingmen who possess votes in these United States can be persuaded into abandoning what is practically the defense of their means of livelihood? The Chinese question has not as yet penetrated throughout the country; but it will, and then the verdict will be given. At bottom it is the poison of slavery that rankles in this Chinese question, and the people must realize that truth also. It is not a mere question of comparative wages, but of civilization and progress."

"A serious objection to slavery as it existed in the Southern States was that it tended to degrade white labor. The very same objection exists against Chinese labor in this State. The recent troubles in San Francisco are attributed to a class commonly known as "hoodlums"—young men who have grown up in idleness, without occupation of any kind, and who, in various ways, prey upon society. This class is peculiar to San Francisco. Many of our best thinkers argue that it owes its existence to the presence of a large Chinese population. For several years after the settlement of this State by Americans the population was an adult population. There were no boys. The Chinese naturally fell into the positions occupied by and did the work that in other countries was assigned to boys. As boys grew up they found these places filled by Chinese, and very naturally looked upon the labor they performed as servile and degrading. Their pride—whether true or false is immaterial—kept them from entering the lists by the side of an abhorred race. If this view of the subject is correct, a fearful responsibility rests at the door of the advocates of Chinese labor. The Chinese are employed as agricultural laborers. The employment in most cases is not of individuals, but is of a drove, held in some sort of dependence by a head man or agent of the Chinese companies. The workmen live in sheds or in straw stacks, do their own cooking, have no homes, and are without interest in their work or the country. The white laborer who would compete with them must not only pursue the same kind of a life, but must like them abdicate his individuality. The consequences would be lamentable even if the white laborer should succeed by such means in driving the Asiatic from the field. We would, in that event, have a laboring class without homes, without families, and without any of the restraining influences of society.

"The slave owner at the South had an interest in his laborers, and even if the voice of humanity was silenced, yet that interest made him care for them. He gave them houses to live in, took care of them in sickness, and supported them when old age rendered them incapable. The owner of Chinese laborers in this State has no such interest. His interest is co-extensive with and limited by the ability of his slave to earn money. In sickness he turns him over to the charity of the public. When disabled by age, he leaves him to fate. It takes no prophet to foretell that if white labor is brought down to the level of Asiatic labor the white laborer will meet like treatment.

"Again, it can be truly said that slavery and its interests produced at the South a large body of intelligent and able statesmen, who, in the conflict between capital and labor, threw into the scale the weight of their power in behalf of labor. Their constituents were the proprietors of labor. The representative naturally consulted the interest of his constituents, and was invariably found the powerful advocate of industrial interests. This was a favorable side of slavery as it existed in the South, and to this extent, at least, Southern slavery exercised a beneficial influence wholly lacking in Chinese.

"The slaves of the South were, as a race, kind and faithful. The Chinese, as a race, are cruel and treacherous. In this—by contrast—all the advantage was with Southern slavery.

"On the whole it is our judgment that unrestricted Chinese immigration tends more strongly to the degradation of labor, and to the subversion of our institutions, than did slavery at the South. It has all of the disadvantages of African slavery, and none of its compensations.

"The effect of this immigration is to prevent that of a more desirable class. There, again, in the mere matter of dollars and cents, the country at large is a loser. These people bring no money with them, while it is assumed, on the most credible evidence, that one hundred dollars at least is the average amount in possession of each European immigrant. A well-known social economist estimates the capital value of every laborer that comes from Europe and settles in this country at fifteen hundred dollars. This value rests upon the fact that such laborer makes this country his home, creates values, and contributes to the support of the nation. The Chinese laborer, on the contrary, makes a draft upon the wealth of the nation, takes from instead of adding to its substance. Not less than one hundred and eighty million dollars in gold have been abstracted from this State alone by Chinese laborers, while they have contributed nothing to the State or national wealth.

"Given in place of one hundred and twenty-five thousand Chinese laborers the same number of male European immigrants, and the result may be stated in figures, as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Amount of money brought into the country. $100 each | $ 12,500,000 |
| Capital value of 125,000 European male laborers, at $1,500 each | 187,500,000 |
| Add gold abstracted by Chinese laborers | 180,000,000 |
| | $380,000,000 |

"Thus, it is beyond question that, from a purely financial point of view, the United States is loser nearly four hundred millions of dollars by Chinese immigration—a sum which, if distributed throughout the country now, would go far toward alleviating present want and misery.

"If it was true that no real objection existed to the presence of a large Chinese population; if it was true that the wrong and injury to the whites existed only in the imagination of the people of this country, even then we would insist that this immigration be restricted. This is a republic, dependent for its existence, not upon force, but upon the will and consent of the people—upon their satisfaction with the government. When that satisfaction ceases, will and consent will be withdrawn. Therefore, it behooves the representatives of the people, charged, in part, with the administration of that government, to wisely consider not only real but fancied causes of dissatisfaction. If it be found that the presence of the Chinese element is a constant source of irritation and annoyance to our people, that it is not here to assimilate and become part of the body politic, that no good, or but little, results from its presence, it does seem that the mere dissatisfaction of the people with its presence should be cause for grave concern on the part of the government.

"But it is said that action on our part tending to restrict Chinese immigration would redound to the injury of commercial relations with that Empire. There is not the slightest foundation in fact for any such notion. The government of China is opposed to the immigration. All of the witnesses agree upon this point.

"The people of the Eastern States of the Union may not at present directly suffer from competition with these people, but they cannot but be sensible that State lines constitute no barrier to the movement of the Chinese; that as soon as the Pacific States are filled with this population it will overflow upon them. The Chinese Empire could spare a population far in excess of the population of the United States, and not feel the loss. Unless this influx of Chinese is prevented, all the horrors of the immigration will in a few years be brought home to the people of the Eastern States. While the States east of the Mississippi do not directly feel the effects of Chinese immigration, they are indirectly affected by it. The Eastern manufacturer, for instance, of coarse boots and shoes, is driven out of the California market. He finds it stocked with the products of Chinese labor. The profits that would accrue to the manufacturer in the East and his employés have been diverted, and flow in a steady stream to China.

"Already, to the minds of many, this immigration begins to assume the nature and proportions of a dangerous unarmed invasion of our soil. Twenty years of increasing Chinese immigration will occupy the entire Pacific Coast to the exclusion of the white population. Many of our people are confident that the whole coast is yet to become a mere colony of China. All the old empires have been conquered by armed invasions; but North and South America and the continent of Australia have been conquered and wrested from their native inhabitants by peaceable, unarmed invasions. Nor is this fear entirely groundless as to the Pacific Coast, for it is in keeping with the principles which govern the changes of modern dynasties, and the advance guard is already upon our shores. The immigration which is needed to offset and balance that from China is retarded by the condition of the labor question on this coast, and we have reason to expect that within ten years the Chinese will equal in number the whites. In view of these facts, thousands of our people are beginning to feel a settled exasperation—a profound sense of dissatisfaction with the situation. Hitherto this feeling has been restrained, and the Chinese have had the full protection of our laws. It may be true that at rare intervals acts of violence have been committed toward them; but it is also true that punishment has swiftly followed. Our city Criminal Courts invariably inflict a severer punishment for offenses committed upon Chinese than for like offenses committed against whites. The people of this State have been more than patient. We are satisfied that the condition of affairs as they exist in San Francisco would not be tolerated without a resort to violence in any Eastern city. It is the part of wisdom to anticipate the day when patience may cease, and, by wise legislation, avert its evils. Impending difficulties of this character should not, in this advanced age, be left to the chance arbitrament of force. These are questions which ought to be solved by the statesman and philanthropist, and not by the soldier."

## CHAPTER VII.

### THE POINTS OF VIEW.

THE American people look at the question of Chinese immigration from two distinct points of view. The people of the Pacific coast—all classes alike—taught a bitter lesson of trouble and public disaster by long years cf practical experience which the presence of this people involves, stand practically as a unit, and would vote with unanimous accord to put an end to Chinese immigration altogether as by far the wiser and more just course to pursue in dealing with the question, than to hamper it with contingent propositions looking to the preservation of commercial relations with China, or any like suggestion with which its discussion has heretofore been coupled.

On the other hand, the people of the Atlantic seaboard regard the question purely from the standpoint of their own local self-interest. They look to China as a market for their manufactures and a field for American enterprise. They disregard the serious, vital, social and political consequences growing out of the presence of the Chinese among us, and the dangers involved in an unrestricted enlargement of their numbers, which must necessarily follow if their theories are accepted, until the land swarms with them as the ant-hill swarms with its countless throng of inhabitants. Add to this the religious side of the controversy, which, however innocently of wrong intent, would ignore the fact that for every Chinese soul saved by missionary effort among them here, a hundred lives of American youth are ruined—if not a hundred souls irretrievably lost—and would still insist upon their coming in order that this missionary work may not be interrupted, and the relative differences of point of view from which the question is considered, become clearly apparent.

Submitted for a verdict from fair-minded public opinion, with which side ought to rest the victory? Can it be possible that the practically unanimous voice of the million American people of the Pacific coast whose conclusions upon this great question have been arrived at after more than thirty years of direct contact with this race of people—can it be possible that they are incompetent to testify truthfully and justly, speaking from practical knowledge, as they do, and that the only class competent to pass upon the issue are those whose minds are governed and controlled solely by the motive of self-interest or by blind religious zeal, or by both? Certainly there can be but one answer to this; for the American people are not yet lost to a sense of human justice, nor are they yet so short-sighted as to let the love of immediate greed outweigh the inevitable consequences of social, industrial and political demoralization and the sure degradation of the laboring classes which must follow the further toleration of this unspeakable evil.

More than this, the defenders of Chinese immigration, who regard the preservation and enlargement of commercial intercourse with that country as the one overshadowing point of primary interest that should outweigh all others, cannot frame an argument in support of their position more solid or substantial in its construction than "a house of cards," which a breath can demolish. For, with a race like the Chinese, which all authorities agree in saying are governed solely by motives of self-interest and money-making to the exclusion of every other thought or sentiment, it is impossible to conceive of the belief that they will willingly shut off the substantial advantages which America offers as a market for their products, or as a profitable source from which to obtain such manufactures or supplies as we are capable of furnishing. Probably, the people of no section of the Union would be so seriously affected by a disturbance of the commercial relations of the two countries as would be the people of the Pacific coast; and they, knowing the Chinese character as they do, fully realize that this talk of interference in commercial relations is as frivolous and as absurd as are the tales of ghosts and giants told by ancient nurses to frighten into obedience babes and sucklings.

It is time that Eastern manufacturers should learn that, whatever the article may be for which a market is desired, from a toy to a locomotive or a steamship, their interests are in far greater danger from the quick and handy methods of acquirement of mechanical knowledge which the Chinese possess—by which they can quickly become skilled workmen in any line of manufactures and then return to China to set up rival manufactures there—than they are by any aid and comfort which they may give to the people of the Pacific coast in their efforts to suppress the immigration of this people. For, while the possibility of any serious interference with the commercial relations of the two countries by reason of the suppression of Chinese immigration is too remote to deserve consideration, the certainty that China will become a rival manufacturing country when her laborers shall have been educated in the school of American mechanics is a proposition that cannot be denied, and points to a danger compared to which this cry about "disturbance of commercial relations" is literally as a mole-hill to a mountain.

No citizen of the Pacific coast denies the fact that the Chinese are possessed of a natural ability to quickly become skilled mechanics, or to acquire a quick knowledge of every branch of labor. All this is freely conceded. But it is as if the rats that infest the wharves of San Francisco possessed like ability to become proficient in the mechanic arts, and could be employed in the same fields of labor that the Chinese occupy, in so far as benefit or evil accrues therefrom to the general welfare of the people. Let Eastern manufacturers come to these shores and satisfy their minds on this point. Let them see the Chinese occupied in operating American shoe machinery, sewing machines and other like labor-saving devices; let them see them in every branch of skilled labor, and then see them as they slink away from the workshops to their underground burrows or their above-ground kennels, and they will realize how disastrous a further spread of this evil must be upon the future well-being of the country, and how threatening is the danger that a continuation of this line of public policy will result in making the Chinese Empire, through such a school as this, the busiest line of manufacturing industry the world has ever known. Compared to such a danger, of what value is this frequently-expressed fear of interference with commercial relations?

Again, turning to the other class of pro-Chinese advocates—the religious enthusiasts and the sentimentalists of our country—it may be thought that the tone of comment which has thus far pervaded this work, particularly as regards missionary writers, has been too harsh and severe. But when their fervid utterances have been weighed against the innumerable misstatements of fact upon which their line of pro-Chinese argument is based, it can hardly be denied that harshness and severity are more than justified. For what excuse can be offered in behalf of the most devout Christian writer upon this subject, even though the loftiest tone of Christian and moral precept pervades the doctrines which he advocates, if the statements of fact by which such doctrines are supported are proved, as they have been in what has gone before, to be wantonly or ignorantly false? Why, then, should this class of writers be spared when they stand forth as the champions of such a course as this, and are guilty of such practices as these?

Take, for example, in addition to the innumerable instances of like nature that have gone before, such a statement as this from the work of the Rev. Mr. Gibson. Speaking of Chinese prostitution he says:

"But it is claimed that this Chinese evil is demoralizing and ruining our boys.

* * * * * * *

"But the material fact in the ruin of our boys is this: '*that in every instance they have taken their first lessons in the path of ruin in the whisky shops and drinking saloons of our Christian civilization.*' Never yet has a single California boy been contaminated, either in mind or body, by a Chinese courtesan until he has taken a few lessons of sinful pleasure in these Christian saloons, these ante-rooms of hell."

Here there is no modification or qualification of statement. It is not given as an expression of opinion. Without a single reservation a positive assertion of fact is made which cannot possibly be characterized by any milder expression than that which brands it as a wilful, wicked lie; for it is in proof that hundreds of boys, who have never learned the taste of liquor even, have been diseased and ruined for life by Chinese courtesans; and these proofs were living, crystallized, published facts when the Rev. Mr. Gibson published this wretched piece of wickedness to the world. Let us recall some of these proofs. Dr. H. H. Toland, founder of the "Toland Medical University," than whom no man ever stood higher in his profession in California, testified before the Legislative Committee in 1876 as follows:

Q.—It has been stated that these Chinese houses of prostitution are open to small boys, and that a great many have been diseased. Do you know anything about that?

A.—I know that it is so. I have seen boys eight and ten years old with diseases they told me they contracted on Jackson street. It is astonishing how soon they commence indulging in that passion. Some of the worst cases of syphilis I have ever seen in my life occur in children not more than ten or twelve years old. They generally try to conceal their condition from their parents. They come to me and I help screen it from their parents, and cure them without compensation. Sometimes parents, unaware of what is the matter, bring their boys to me, and I do all I can to keep the truth from them.

Q.—Are these cases of frequent occurrence?

A.—Yes, sir. You will find children from twelve to fifteen that are often diseased. In consequence of neglect, they finally become the worst cases we have to treat.

Police Officer Rogers testified that he had taken boys not more than ten or twelve years of age out of these houses; and again he says:

"I have seen small boys go into these alleys occupied by Chinese women and talk with them in the most filthy and disgusting manner imaginable."

David Supple, a policeman in San Francisco, testified as follows:

Q.—Do you know anything about boys of twelve and fourteen years of age visiting houses of prostitution in the Chinese quarter?

A.—Yes, sir, we have them fairly crippled, going about the city hardly able to put one foot before the other.

Q.—Then the moral effect of the presence of this population is very bad?

A.—It is ruinous to the community.

Wong Ben, a Chinaman, testified as follows:

Q.—Do you know of white boys going to Chinese houses of prostitution?

A.—Yes; plenty of them.

Q.—How old boys have you seen there?

A.—Ten or fifteen years old. Women don't care how young they are as long as they get money.

Q.—Have you seen many boys twelve and fifteen years old there?

A.—Plenty of them.

And now, in view of such testimony as this, in reference to boys still in the years of childhood, is it possible that this sweeping declaration of the Rev. Mr. Gibson that "never yet has a single California boy been contaminated in mind or body by a Chinese courtesan until he has taken a few lessons of sinful pleasure in these Christian saloons, these anterooms of hell," can be true? And can criticism be too harsh or too severe when expended upon the Christian missionary who comes to the defense of this race—whose touch is pollution—by such statements as these? Would not the missionary efforts of Mr. Gibson and his co-laborers in the cause of religion be better and more righteously expended in endeavoring to save these young boys from lives of misery and the future reward of their sins than to thus stand forward to palliate and excuse the existence of Chinese prostitution among us, in order that they may justify the precedence which they give to the conversion of the heathen over the salvation of the thousands of their own race, which these same heathen are all the while plunging into the depths of misery?

The plain, unvarnished truth is, that to follow the advocacy of such writers as these, and to be guided by the sentimentalists who lend them their aid by the constant parade of the "common brotherhood of man," means to minister to the worldly welfare of this Asiatic race, and to sacrifice the welfare and happiness of our own people. Self-abnegation may possibly be the highest moral precept that can be inculcated and fostered in the breast of mankind; but when self-abnegation is carried to that extreme that it means the sacrifice of one and a higher race that another, a barbarous one, may reap a worldly benefit with the contingent possibility of the salvation of a small fractional percentage of the souls of the mass of them, it becomes the most gigantic sin ever conceived of by the human mind. It ought to earn for its advocates, from among the penalties prescribed in the unknown future life for earthly wrong-doing, the full maximum of punishment that will be awarded for the maximum of human sin.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE OPIUM HABIT.

IT will doubtless be conceded that the civilized Christian world has no more serious and difficult social and economic problem to deal with than that of the habit of intemperance in the use of alcohlic liquors. Whatever may be the individual opinions of men as to the wisest course to pursue in dealing with this evil, there will be no difference of opinion that it is an evil and a curse to mankind, whether we appeal to the drunkard himself or to the ablest apostle of the cause of temperance that ever preached or wrote upon the subject. That it is the parent of more vice, crime and misery than any or all other causes will not be disputed. That it seems to be an ineradicable curse is a conclusion that forces itself upon the wisest minds; that it may be remedied or modified of its evil tendencies is the hope of all. But what would be said of a proposition on the part of any foreign people to come here and introduce a habit which, from its very nature, must become still more baneful in its influences than the use of alcohol? Or what shall we say of a class of immigration whose coming to our shores leads inevitably to the introduction of such a habit, the use of a drug vastly more destructive of morality and happiness, vastly more productive of misery and wretchedness, than the consumption of alcohol in any of its forms, and sure to inflict a greater curse upon the American people for all time to come than alcohol ever has or ever will do? Put in this way, and the fact once fairly demonstrated that the opium habit is sure to be insidiously spread and engrafted upon the social organization of the American people by contact with the Chinese, and the results thus foreshadowed are sure to follow. Ought not this—the question is submitted to religious enthusiast missionaries and sentimentalists as well as to the public at large—ought not this, independent of other cause or other argument, be sufficient to put a stop at once and forever to Chinese immigration?

Let us proceed now to a careful and earnest examination of this branch of the subject. Let us see what the use of opium and the spread of the opium habit has done for China and the Chinese, then let us see to what extent they have brought this habit with them to America, and to what extent it has spread by the contact among our own people. In this way we shall certainly be able to understand what is the length and breadth of the evil when once established among a people; and by that example, and by the example of how far the habit has been engrafted here, we shall be able to comprehend the magnitude of the danger with which we are threatened from this cause alone, not to speak of any and all the others that follow in the pestilential pathway of this new horde of heathen invaders.

It is not necessary here to go into a history of the use of opium in China, to repeat the story of the "Opium War," or criticize or comment upon the action of the British Government in this latter connection. What "might have been," to whom the larger share of blame must attach for the use of opium in China, are questions which need not be discussed here. The point is, what are the dangers of the opium habit—what are the dangers of its extensive introduction into our own country as one of the baneful results of Chinese immigration? Upon the first half of this inquiry all writers agree; therefore it can be answered beyond dispute.

The Reverend Mr. Speer, who sees so much to commend in the Chinese, and so many blessings to grow out of Chinese immigration to America, testifies as follows on this point:

"The effects of this dreadful poison upon the human system are utterly destructive to the health of the body and the clear use of the faculties of the mind, to the happiness of the unfortunate family of the victim, to his success in business and to his usefulness to society. The face becomes pale and haggard, the eyes moist and vacant, the whole expression vacant and idiotic; the body wastes to a skeleton, the joints are tortured with pain. The sensation of gnawing in the stomach when deprived of the drug is described by those addicted to its use to be like the tearing of its tender coats by the claws of an animal of prey, while a return to it fills the brain with horrid and tormenting visions like the mania of *delirium tremens.* I have seen strong men, when unable to obtain their accustomed dose, crazy with the suffering, the face crimsoned in some cases, and the perspiration streaming down in a shower. Few individuals of those whom it possesses are able to find a sufficient antidote. The subject lingers a few years, and a dreary and unpitied death ends the scene. This is the history of tens of thousands in China, as well as in other countries.

"This most terrible form of intemperance affects all classes of society, from the most powerful, wealthy and learned to the most wretched beggar. One sees the lowest and vilest, even the impoverished and rotten lepers without the walls of the cities, drunk with it. When they cannot find money to purchase the drug, they buy the dirt which remains after it is refined, and abjectly scrape the bowls of the pipes used by their more favored brethren and smoke this refuse. Women learn the habit from their husbands and brothers, and when the woful penalty of this indulgence comes upon the family they find in opium a ready and familiar instrument to cut the thread of life and drop into the gulf of an unknown and dark future.

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"The opium traffic in India and China is the darkest stain upon the Christianity of the nineteenth century. Its calamitous effects are felt wherever the people of China emigrate, and wherever the products of China are carried, over the whole world. In the arrest of it the citizens of the United States are more deeply interested than any other people outside of China. Opium puts a great stone in the path of the commerce with Eastern Asia; it hinders the development of departments of industry on our Pacific Coast which would discover and furnish numerous useful materials and manufactures to supply that commerce, and thus render great benefits to either continent; it is planting seeds of enerervation, crime and disease in the Chinese who are coming to our shores, and creating corresponding vexation and injury to us."

It is impossible not to award the highest measure of praise to a writer who is thus frank and honest in his statement of this branch of the Chinese question. It testifies fairly to his honesty of purpose, perhaps, but it is likewise testimony self-delivered which convicts the writer of the grossest inconsistency, and proves how illogical and unsafe is the missionary writer upon this subject who thus convicts himself of wrong in the advocacy of Chinese immigration in order that the Gospel of Christianity may be planted among them at the expense of the introduction of the opium evil upon these shores, already cursed with another kind of intemperance whose evil effects no man may measure or express. And when the reverend writer talks about the American people "arresting the evil" by any other method than by shutting out those who introduce it, he broaches a line of argument worse than Quixotic; for if the American people are not strong enough to wrestle with and "arrest" the evil of alcoholic intemperance, what shall we say of their ability to put a stop to that other kind of intemperance which is a far stronger foe to deal with—the Opium Habit? What this class of writers have seen with their own eyes and learned by their own experiences in life in China, and what they will state as fairly and as frankly as the Rev. Mr. Speer has told this story, is most worthy to be received and to profit by. But the logic of their arguments is loose and disjointed, and their conclusions, forced to suit their own cherished desires, are dangerous, weak and unsafe. They should be rejected.

Mr. Williams, in his "Middle Kingdom," furnishes this picture of the evil effects of opium-smoking:

"A Chinese scholar thus sums up the bad effects of opium, which he says is taken at first to raise the animal spirits and prevent lassitude: 'It exhausts the animal spirits, impedes the regular performance of business, wastes the flesh and blood, dissipates every kind of property, renders the person ill-favored, promotes obscenity, discloses secrets, violates the laws, attacks the vitals and destroys life.' Under each of these heads he lucidly shows the mode of the process or gives examples to uphold his assertions: 'In comparison with arsenic, I pronounce it tenfold the greater poison; one swallows arsenic because he has lost his reputation and is so involved that he cannot extricate himself. Thus driven to desperation he takes the dose and is destroyed at once; but those who smoke the drug are injured in many ways. It may be compared to rising the wick of a lamp which, while it increases the blaze, hastens the exhaustion of the oil and the extinction of the light. Hence the youth who smoke will shorten their own days and cut off all hopes of posterity, leaving their parents and wives without any one on whom to depend. From the robust, who smoke, the flesh is gradually consumed and worn away, and the skin hangs like a bag. Their faces become cadaverous and black, and their bones naked as a billet of wood. The habitual smokers dose for days over their pipes, without appetite; when the desire for opium comes on they cannot resist its impulse. Mucus flows from their nostrils and tears from their eyes; their very bodies are rotten and putrid. From careless observers the sight of such objects is enough to excite loud peals of laughter; the poor smoker who has pawned every article in his possession still remains idle, and when the periodical thirst comes on will even pawn his wives and sell his daughters. In the province of Nganhwui I once saw a man named Chin, who being childless purchased a concubine and got her with child; afterward when his money was expended and other means failed him, being unable to resist the desire for the pipe, he sold her in her pregnancy for several tens of dollars. This money being expended he went and hung himself.'"

Mr. Williams, after thus quoting the statement furnished him by his young Chinese friend, proceeds to add his own testimony, thus:

"The thirst and burning sensation in the throat which the wretched sufferer feels, only to be renewed by a repetition of the dose, proves one of the strongest links in the chain which drags him to his ruin. At this stage of the habit his case is almost hopeless; if the pipe be delayed too long, vertigo, complete prostration and discharge of water from the eyes ensue; if entirely withheld, coldness and aching pains are felt over the body, and obstinate diarrhœa supervenes and death closes the scene. The disastrous effects of the drug are somewhat delayed or modified by the quantity of nourishing food the person can procure; and consequently it is among the poor, who can least afford the pipe and still less the injury done to their energies, that the destruction of life is the greatest. The evils suffered and crime committed by the desperate victims of the opium pipe are dreadful and multiplied; theft, arson, murder and suicide are perpetrated in order to obtain it or escape its effects."

The Abbe Huc says:

"With the exception of some rare smokers, who—thanks to a quite exceptional organization!—are able to restrain themselves within the bounds of moderation, all others advance rapidly toward death, after having passed through the successive stages of idleness, debauchery, poverty, the ruin of their physical strength, and the complete prostration of their intellectual and moral faculties. Nothing can stop a smoker who has made much progress in this habit; incapable of attending to any kind of business, insensible to every event; the most hideous poverty and the sight of a family plunged into despair and misery cannot rouse him to the smallest exertion, so complete is the disgusting apathy in which he is sunk."

Mr. Doolittle, in his "Social Life of the Chinese," furnishes the following testimony upon the evils of the opium habit:

"The baneful effects of opium-smoking are many and various—social, moral, mental, physical and pecuniary. In the first place, opium-smoking sensibly and unfavorably affects *one's property and business relations.* It is comparatively a very costly vice, the expense being graduated by the circumstances of each case, ranging from a dollar or two to ten or fifteen dollars per month, even in regard to persons not of the highest and the most wealthy classes. The lowest-mentioned rate, taking into consideration the low price of labor among this people compared with the price of labor in Western countries, is relatively large and burdensome. With all smokers, however, the effect of this vice on their pecuniary standing is *by no means to be estimated by the actual outlay in money for the drug*. Its seductive influence leads its victims to neglect their business, and consequently, sooner or later, loss or ruin ensues. As the habit grows, so does inattention to business increase. Instances are not rare where the rich have been reduced to poverty and beggary as one of the consequences of their attachment to the opium pipe. The poor addicted to this vice are sometimes led to dispose of everything saleable in the hovel where they live. Sometimes, even, men sell their own children and their wives in order to procure the drug, and finally end their career by becoming beggars or thieves. In order to understand the expense of this vice, the Western reader needs, perhaps, to be reminded that the vast majority of the Chinese are generally poor, and that wages are invariably low. It oftentimes and usually requires as much time and toil here to earn a dime as in America it requires to earn a dollar.

"In the second place, the smoking of opium *injures one's health and bodily constitution*. Unless taken promptly at the regular time and in the necessary quantity, the victim becomes unable to control himself and to attend to his business. He sneezes; he gasps; mucus runs from his nose and his eyes; griping pains seize him in his bowels; his whole appearance indicates restlessness and misery. If not indulged in smoking and left undisturbed, he usually falls asleep, but his sleep does not refresh and invigorate him. On being aroused, he is himself again, provided he can have his opium; if not, his troubles and pains multiply. He has no appetite for ordinary food; no strength or disposition to labor. Diarrhœa sets in of a dreadful and most painful description peculiar to opium-smokers; and if still unable to procure opium the unhappy victim not unfrequently dies in most excruciating agonies. Few, comparatively, recover after diarrhœa has become virulent, unless they have access to opium, and not always then.

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"Some have attempted to compare the evils of opium-smoking in China with the evils of drinking intoxicating liquors at the West; but these vices are so different in some of their principal effects as to render a just comparison exceedingly difficult. The one is soothing and tranquilizing; the other excites and often maddens. Ardent spirits are often taken to stimulate to the commission of violent and bloody deeds, but opium is never smoked for such a purpose nor with such an effect. Were the subject of the comparative evils of opium-smoking and liquor-drinking, as seen in China (where the use of Chinese whisky or samshu is universal among all classes), to be submitted for decision to intelligent Chinamen the verdict would be given with promptness and startling energy against opium. It would be unanimous in the condemnation of opium as being the producer of an immensely greater amount of misery, sickness, poverty and death than Chinese liquors."

Here, then, stands the question. The opium habit is a species of intemperance worse, far worse, than intemperance in the use of intoxicating liquors. How bad this last habit is we all know; how great a public curse it is we all fully realize. And yet, through the medium of Chinese immigration, the introduction of a far greater public evil and public curse than intemperance in the use of alcoholic liquors is as sure to follow, and the evil as sure to spread throughout every rank of society, as are the seasons to reign and follow each other with each annual revolution of the earth around the sun. The proof is conclusive on this point; for the opium habit is more seductive in its nature. It lures its victims on to their destruction with more irresistible influences than does alcohol in any of its forms; and no man, when once brought within its insidious power, ever escapes from its clutches.

In the use of opium there is a strange, indescribable infatuation. Men resort to the alluring vice as if preordained to their own self-destruction. "They know perfectly well that if they smoke regularly the bewitching pipe they will certainly soon come within its power; and yet many yearly voluntarily become its fresh victims. With their eyes open to the inevitable consequences of the indulgence, they blindly do what will enslave them for life."

Who, then, can possibly be bold enough to longer advocate Chinese immigration into the United States when the introduction of this new, colossal, overshadowing evil is the sure consequence of such action? That this conclusion is not a forced one, the whole history of the opium trade and the opium habit among the Chinese sufficiently proves. Today the Chinese people may be set down as a nation of opium-smokers. Going back but little beyond a century, the importation of opium into China amounted to but a thousand chests per annum. In 1780 a small depot was established by the English in Lark's Bay, south of Macao. At that time the price was $550 a chest. "In 1781 the company freighted a vessel to Canton, but were obliged to sell the lot of 1,600 chests at $200 a chest to Sinqua, one of the hong merchants, who, not being able to dispose of it to advantage, reshipped it to the Archipelago." The opium habit had been engrafted upon the Chinese people, however, and opium must be had in spite of the edicts of Emperors prohibiting its importation and the utmost efforts of the officers of the law to enforce the order. "But it was not till the present century that the demon of opium seemed to awaken to the dreadful appetite for destruction, and go forth to be one of the direct enemies of the human race." From the small importation in 1781 of about one thousand chests per annum, the trade had grown, so that in 1876 it had risen to eighty thousand, while the cultivation of the poppy and opium manufacture in China had also been successfully established. Practically the whole nation had been brought under the subjection of and slavery to the drug.

Is it to be presumed that, the evil once fairly engrafted upon our people as a habit, it is to be followed by any other than similar results to those which have followed it in China? Surely those who claim the Chinaman as "a man and brother," endowed with the same strength of intellect and capacity that the race of the Caucasian type present, will not be so inconsistent as to assume that there is sufficiently greater strength of mind and will-power among us to enable us to successfully defy the habit, and so avoid the rock that has physically and morally wrecked the Chinese! While those who deny this equality will surely not be willing, in any case, to take the frightful risk which Chinese immigration involves in regard to the habit.

It is true that where the opium habit has gone it has enslaved the people and carried untold misery in its train. Are we endowed with qualities that will enable us to defy its influences? In California the question has been answered already. The opium habit has been brought with them by the Chinese; and in "Chinatown" proper in San Francisco there is probably not a building occupied by Chinese in which the "opium lay-out" is not found and the vice of opium-smoking indulged in. As the cancer sends out its poisonous roots to vitiate and destroy the surrounding parts of the human body upon which it has affixed itself, so has the opium habit, as practiced by the Chinese in San Francisco, sent its poisonous influences out into the surrounding community, and commenced its harvest among the younger classes. Already the "opium joint" for the use of white slaves to the habit is becoming common in San Francisco, and the "opium fiend," as he is known here, may be met with everywhere. Young women and young men haunt the Chinese drug-stores in search of the deadly narcotic, and the "opium habit" is claiming and enlarging its circle of victims among our own people in all directions.

## CHAPTER IX.

### THE INTRODUCTION AND SPREAD OF LEPROSY.

THE twin evil of the opium habit, "Leprosy," next claims attention as a legacy which the people of California have inherited from the Mongolian. It is difficult to speak or write with equanimity and composure of these two horrors that have thus been inflicted upon us by this class of immigration, when we consider the part that a large percentage of the Christian clergy play in the matter. Anything more wickedly devilish in its conception than the advocacy of Chinese immigration in the face of the fact that it is necessarily accompanied by these two twin evils, let alone all the other horrors that follow in its train, was never conceived by the brain of man. Especially is this true, severe as the denunciation may seem, when we take into consideration the fact that the gain involved is the possibility of a heathen soul saved from damnation against the sure result, as an offset, of scores of Christian men and women doomed to a life of disease and misery, and the probability, according to the doctrine taught by these same advocates, of eternal damnation hereafter. But the fact remains that this same advocacy is frequently preached from the Christian pulpit in spite of these known evils, and hence the disgust and the too frequent apathy that intelligent men and women manifest for Christian worship when it is larded and seasoned by such detestable bigotry.

Practically, the true disease of leprosy was unknown in the United States until the Chinese came among us; to-day it is a fixed disease among our people, baffling, as it always has baffled, medical skill—a loathsome, incurable, disgusting ailment, meaning months of unspeakable misery to its victims and an inheritence of premature death for them and their descendants. Following the plan heretofore adopted, however, of proving every assertion made and every position taken touching this question of Chinese immigration and its consequences, tangible evidences upon this subject furnished by reliable authorities are here presented in lieu of assertion and commentary.

The late lamented Dr. Foye, for many years "Resident Physician, City and County Small-pox Hospital," furnished to the Board of Supervisors of the City and County of San Francisco in January, 1884, the following statement concerning the introduction of this horrible disease by the Chinese and the dangers which are likely to grow out of it:

SAN FRANCISCO, January 15th, 1884.

*Hon. John J. Reichenbach, Chairman of Hospital Committee of Board of Supervisors*—SIR: On December 12th, 1883, you addressed to me a series of questions upon the subject of leprosy and elephantiasis,, with a request that I would furnish you with such statistics and views on the matter as were at my command. I herewith beg leave to submit to you as exhaustive a reply as the data under my control and my personal experience will permit. Your main questions, twelve in number, and my answers thereto, are as follows:

I. "The number of cases of leprosy and elephantiasis which have been taken charge of and maintained at the expense of the City and County?"

The record of the Small-pox Hospital shows that on the 5th day of July, 1871, Hong Tong, a Chinese leper, was transferred from the City and County Alms-house to this institution, where he died on the 29th day of September, 1875, after a stay in this hospital of four years, two months and twenty-four days. Since then seventy-eight cases have been admitted, making a total of seventy-nine cases maintained for variable periods by the City and County during the twelve years last past.

II. "The average length of time that persons afflicted with these diseases have been so maintained?"

The mean brought down to December 31, 1883, at which date there were sixteen lepers in the Lazaretto, is a little more than 430 days to each patient. To be exact, the time was 430.45 days to each.

III. "The number of cases admitted by order of the Commissioner of Immigration, the name of the Commissioner and the number on each Commissioner's order?"

But one case has been admitted by order of the Commissioner, and that by the present Commissioner's order on September 17th, 1883.

IV. "The number of cases that have been received directly from vessels arriving at this port?"

But one case has been so received.

V. "The number of cases received that have been residents of this city and county for any length of time, and those from other counties in the State?"

On August 31st, 1876, all lepers then in the Small-pox Hospital were shipped to China and the further admission of this class of patients forbidden; but in the autumn of 1878, they had so increased in numbers in the city as to become the subject of general complaint, and the order was rescinded. In October, 1878, eleven cases were admitted, and in the three weeks following four more were received. This lot of fifteen had been residents of this city and county for periods varying from two to twenty months. Since that date no case has been received that had been in the city more than a few weeks, usually only as many days.

VI. "The sex, race and age of the cases admitted; the character of the disease and their disposition?"

Sex—Males, 75; Females, 4.

Race—Mongolian, 76; Caucasian, 3.

Ages—Between 50 and 60 years, 2; between 40 and 50 years, 9; between 30 and 40 years, 31; between 20 and 30 years, 31; between 15 and 20 years, 6.

Character of Disease—Tubercular, 25; Anæsthetic, 31; unclassified, 23.

Disposition—Shipped to China by authorities, 48; shipped to China by friends, 2; died, 9; discharged, 1; escaped, 2, remaining in hospital, 16.

VII. "How many deaths have occurred—age, sex and race?"

| NAME. | AGE. | SEX. | RACE. | DATE OF DEATH. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hong Tong | 36 | Male | Mongolian | Sept. 29, 1875 |
| Ha Lin | 18 | Female | Mongolian | Aug. 18, 1875 |
| Ah Cue | 27 | Male | Mongolian | July 9, 1875 |
| Ah Gun | 26 | Male | Mongolian | May 25, 1876 |
| Lin Duck | 22 | Male | Mongolian | March 20, 1880 |
| Ah Gong | 40 | Male | Mongolian | March 22, 1880 |
| T. Stanton | 53 | Male | Caucasian | Nov. 4, 1881 |
| Chas. Lacy* | 26 | Male | Mongolian | May 29, 1882 |
| Ah Chung | 22 | Male | Mongolian | Feb. 28, 1883 |

VIII. "How many cases are now in the Lazaretto maintained at the expense of the city and county?"

REMAINING IN HOSPITAL DEC. 31, 1883—16.

| NAME. | AGE. | SEX. | RACE. | LEPROSY. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ah Wan | 24 | Male | Mongolian | Anæsthetic |
| Yew Ung Tan | 18 | Male | Mongolian | Anæsthetic |
| He Kup | 40 | Male | Mongolian | Anæsthetic |
| Ah Jock | 45 | Male | Mongolian | Anæsthetic |
| Ah Chue | 32 | Male | Mongolian | Tuberculous |
| Ah Tick | 38 | Male | Mongolian | Anæsthetic |
| Ah Chung | 45 | Male | Mongolian | Anæsthetic |
| Ah Yung | 37 | Male | Mongolian | Tuberculous |
| Ah Grue | 29 | Male | Mongolian | Tuberculous |
| Sing Lah | 34 | Male | Mongolian | Anæsthetic |
| Chong Chue | 46 | Male | Mongolian | Tuberculous |
| E. Erickson | 39 | Male | White | Tuberculous |
| M. Nicholas | 17 | Female | White | Tuberculous |
| Ah Ling | 32 | Male | Mongolian | Tuberculous |
| Han Yee | 33 | Male | Mongolian | Tuberculous |
| Ah See | 34 | Male | Mongolian | Tuberculous |

IX. "How many cases of the said diseases have recovered or been discharged from the hospital and allowed to associate with the population of the State?"

In reply to the first part of this question I must answer that though leprosy was known and recognized long before the Christian era, no recoveries have ever been recorded outside of biblical literature, the recoveries being those mentioned in II Kings, chap. 5, and by St. Luke, chap. 5.

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*NOTE.—Charles Lacy was an Americanized Chinaman. He was brought to this State when a child, and lived in an American family, where he lost all knowledge of his native tongue, and was fairly educated in English. He wore his hair short, assumed the manners and habits of those by whom he was surrounded, and had no sympathy with the "pagans," as he called his countrymen.

But one patient has ever been discharged from the hospital. One Ha Toi, a Chinese female aged 31 years, was admitted June 2, 1874, and the record shows that she was "discharged at her own request" July 28, 1874. Of her subsequent history nothing is known.

X. "Have any of the persons admitted afflicted with leprosy or elephantiasis been discharged from the hospital or Lazaretto to any part of the city, county, State or United States, except fourteen lepers August 31, 1876, and seventeen lepers June 2, 1879?"

Yes; seventeen lepers were shipped on the "Belgic" Dec. 21, 1880, making a total of 48 shipped at the expense of the City and County.

XI. "Have you or any of your predecessors ever forwarded to the Secretary of State quarterly statements showing the name, age, sex and birthplace of each leper? If so, on what dates were these reports made?

I have never made such a report, and, so far as I am able to learn, none such has ever been made by any of my predecessors.

XII. "The total cost and expense to the City and County in the care and support of persons afflicted with leprosy or elephantiasis, including maintenance, medicines, medical attendance and a reasonable amount for use of buildings for hospital or Lazaretto purposes?"

The total cost of maintaining this class of unfortunates for the six months ending December 31st, 1883, amounted in the aggregate to $\$3,400\frac{10}{100}$, and this sum does not include the rent of buildings. Seven thousand ($7,000) dollars per annum for the past five years would be a fair estimate.

In concluding your letter of inquiry, you ask, among other things, "Is leprosy contagious?" In the general and more popular meaning of the word, it is not, perhaps. This is known, however, that it is capable by some occult means of reproducing itself by the association of leprosic with healthy persons. The disease was unknown in the Sandwich Islands prior to the year 1849, about which year it is claimed to have been introduced by the Chinese. Dr. Hillebrand, an eminent authority upon the subject, saw his first leper in 1853, about twenty miles from Honolulu. He paid special attention to this case and in 1861 the subject had the disease in its worst form of development, and *six other persons in his immediate neighborhood had become affected.* In 1864 the same authority observed the same condition of affairs in another village, the tax-gatherer of which for many years had been the only known leper in the district.

Twenty-five years after its introduction into the Islands the percentage of known cases of persons affected was three and one-half (3½) per thousand of the entire population, while the percentage of unknown cases was estimated to be in the same ratio. By "unknown cases" was meant those instances, and they were many, where the disease was concealed by the voluntary isolation of the diseased persons, or the suppression of the knowledge of their affliction by the friends and relatives of lepers of family and influence.

Dr. Tilbury Fox, as the result of his observations of the disease, as it presented itself in the Islands, remarks:

"Here, then, the influence of 'hereditary transmission' is out of the question. The disease arises in a clean nature, is unnoticed at first, and spreads slowly. It so happens that the hygienic state of the natives, and colony, has improved and not deteriorated. Animal food is within the reach of all. Labor is in great demand and well paid for. The climate is, perhaps, the finest in the world, taxation is light, and, yet, notwithstanding, *leprosy spreads, and has spread from and around known lepers, as from centers of contagion.*

Some writers dissent from the foregoing views, but none, so far as I know, have attempted an explanation of *the facts* upon which Drs. Hillebrand and Fox and other investigators have based their conclusions.

The conditions and circumstances under which the disease is communicated from leprosic to healthy persons, are difficult to define. This difficulty arises from the fact that the long period of incubation incident to the disease deprives the student and investigator of reliable data on which to base an intelligent answer to questions bearing upon the subject. But that the peccant principle will, in the near future, be found resident in the exhalations of the diseased, is an inference almost irresistible.

You ask: "Can the existence of the diseases, leprosy and elephantiasis, be ascertained at any stage?" During the early months of the disease an opinion as to its true nature and character would be little better than conjectural; so slow is its progress, particularly in the well-fed subject, that two years may elapse before its true nature can be determined with absolute certainty. In the poorly nourished and especially where the face is the principal point of attack, it should be recognized by one familiar with the symptoms, at the end of the first year of its progress. If, however, as sometimes occurs, the feet and lower extremities are for years the only parts affected, an advanced stage of development may be reached, which only such an examination as the military recruit is subject to would reveal. Three cases of the latter class have been admitted to this Hospital within a few months of their arrival in the country. Two of them had been lepers—consciously so—for several years.

When the disease reaches that stage of development so vividly described by Glanville in his "Report of Leprosy in the Fourteenth Century," it would be at once recognized wherever seen, and several such cases are now under my charge. Glanville says the signs of the loathsome disease are as follows:

"Redde whelkes and pymples on the face, out of which oftene run blood and matter; the nose swelle and ben grate, the virtue of smelling faileth and the brethe stynketh right fowle * * * * * *
The infectyd are unclene, spotyd, glemy and guyttery; the nostryls be stopyt, the weasand of the voys is rough and the voys is horse and the here (hair) falls."

In conclusion, permit me to say that I have endeavored to answer your questions as fully as circumstances would permit. Should there be any propositions that I have overlooked, it would be, by me, considered a personal favor to have my attention called to them in the hope that my personal experience and knowledge of the subject may, in the near future, be of benefit to the public at large.

Very respectfully,

JOHN W. FOYE, M. D.,

Resident Physician, City and County Small-pox Hospital.

It is true that the progress and spread of leprosy in California has not been as rapid as in the Hawaiian Islands; that is probably due to climatic influences. But the fact remains that it is here, and that it is spreading among the people, however slowly, and that leprosy has become an engrafted American disease solely by reason of Chinese immigration. Its progress in the Hawaiian Islands since its introduction there by the Chinese is a fearful warning of what is likely to follow here even with the best methods of combatting the evil that professional science can adopt.

In Hawaii, the Island of Molokai has been set apart by the government for a Lazaretto for lepers. There every man upon whom the disease has developed is not only sent to remain through life, but his family must also accompany him. The scenes that are enacted at Honolulu and elsewhere when this deportation of families to their doom takes place are heart-rending. Some such measure will inevitably have to be adopted in all communities in the United States where Chinese live in any considerable numbers, for there this most loathsome of all diseases which flesh is heir to is sure to go, until, if this evil of Chinese immigration is to go on unchecked, we also shall have become a nation of lepers. Is the doctrine of the common brotherhood of man and the conversion of the heathen worth maintaining at such a price as this?

## CHAPTER X.

### THE RACES IN CONFLICT.

While these pages have been under preparation, two events have occurred in relation to the Chinese question which have aroused the indignation and excited the horror of the people of the whole country. In Wyoming Territory some white miners, exasperated at the presence of a large number of Chinese laborers who had come among them, perpetrated a horrible massacre of many of them, burned and pillaged their habitations, and drove the few who escaped immediate butchery into flight from their satanic fury. Scarcely had this story been told when news of a similar massacre of Chinese, perpetrated again by white men in Washington Territory, is promulgated. In the whole annals of similar outbreaks in our country, there is nothing more cruel and atrocious in its details and results, and nothing more utterly wanton and inexcusable. Both events are instances of wholesale crime that ought not to go unpunished, and which no man can excuse or palliate. But these unhappy events illustrate several important features of the Chinese question which it is well to call attention to; for, however much they are to be deplored, thoughtful men who will examine the matter carefully will perceive in them a political lesson which the American people will do well to study and profit by.

First, it should be observed that the people who have suffered the greatest wrong by reason of Chinese immigration—the citizens of California, and of San Francisco in particular—have exercised more than thirty years of patient forbearance toward the Chinese, notwithstanding the avalanche of evils which the race has sent down upon them. Here the strong arm of the law and of humanity has at all times been extended over them in protection from that violence that their presence has always provoked among the laboring classes, who suffer most severely from their presence. Here there has been always manifested a broader spirit of toleration and a more patient bearing than could have ever taken place elsewhere under like circumstances of provocation, while unceasing appeal has gone up to the higher authority of the nation for relief by lawful means from the curse thus sent upon them. All the while this appeal had been unheeded until the passage of the Restriction Act, and all the while other communities have denied the justice of our course, and lauded the character of the Chinese, against whom we have cried out so justly. But when the evil is brought home to *them*, when in other communities the Chinese laborer is brought in direct contact with the American laborer he is met with the summary argument of the bullet and the torch. The forbearance which we have so long exercised finds neither lodgment nor entertainment in other communities when the question is forced upon them by direct contact. The injustice with which we have been treated by our fellow-countrymen who have refused and still refuse their aid and sympathy is by these deplorable incidents made glaringly apparent.

But these massacres—horrible as they are to contemplate, humiliating and shameful as they are to the American people—are by no means the most serious side of this phase of the Chinese question. They are but warnings, but mutterings of a danger that gathers like the thunder-clouds in the distant horizon, soon to develop into the resistless cyclone of destruction. There is an attribute of human nature which, however deeply we may deplore its existence, cannot and must not be ignored. It is the blind, passionate element which incites men to band together at times when they are conscious of being wronged, and doing deeds of desperation such as those which the stories of these massacres involve. Indefensible as these acts are, done under the influence of passionate fury, they occur and will continue to occur as long as mankind remains unregenerated. No punishment can prevent the recurrence of such acts, however necessary it may be and is to mete out punishment whenever these public wrongs are perpetrated. And there is nothing in the whole history of our country that can be cited as a surer provocative of such action on the part of an exasperated multitude; and hence nothing more dangerous in the whole economy of our social and political organization than this contact with the Chinese element thus infusing itself among us. All the outburst of sentiment, all the just condemnation that may be uttered will not change the constituent elements of human nature, and therefore the direct anathemas that may be hurled from the pulpit or the press upon those who are guilty of these acts will not meet the issue or right the wrong. It is the duty of the parent Government to intervene and prevent the possibility of the wrong being perpetrated by prohibiting the further influx of the Chinese, and thus removing the cause of the wrong to a large extent, leaving the question of how best to deal with those that are here—the only part of the problem remaining to be solved.

The history of Chinese immigration and colonization is a history of antagonism of races that is marked with massacre and bloodshed. In Manilla, in 1603, a conflict between the Spanish and Chinese occurred, growing out of precisely similar causes which antagonize public sentiment here, in which over 23,000 Chinese were massacred. Again, in 1639, in Laguna, on the same island, an insurrection among the Chinese occurred in which thousands of them were again butchered by the Spaniards. In 1653 the Chinese were ordered to leave Manilla. They refused to comply, and 12,000 were again slaughtered. "It is wonderful," says De Mas, "that any Chinaman should come to the Philippines after the repeated slaughters of their countrymen at different periods, though it is certain they have often brought down the thunderbolt on their own heads."

In Batavia, similar scenes were enacted between the Dutch and Chinese in the middle of the eighteenth century. In 1740 occurred the great conflict between these two races in which more than 12,000 Chinese were mercilessly butchered.

In Australia similar conflicts have occurred, and where-ever the two races have met in communal relation like scenes have been re-enacted. These facts furnish neither palliation nor excuse for the recent massacres in Wyoming and Washington Territories; but they are facts which constitute a lesson in themselves that cannot safely be ignored. The hard-handed, hard-laboring classes, with wives and children to feed, clothe and care for, do not always stop to reason when they see this race occupying a field of labor which they are accustomed to consider their own, and which by their very birth-right is theirs, as all the evidences that have gone before fully prove. And when, infuriated by a sense of wrong, they seek these insane methods of remedy and redress, they cease for the time being to be amenable to reason, however sternly it may be necessary for the welfare of society to make them amenable to the law. For this reason, wherever the Chinese race may go to occupy fields of labor now occupied by men of the Caucasian race, there these horrid scenes will from time to time be re-enacted, in spite of precaution and public condemnation, before the event, or punishment by the law afterwards. Not all the proclamations of the civil authorities, not all the anathemas of the public press, not all the terrors of the enforcement of the law can prevent it everywhere, look at it as we may. There has been no day in twenty years when San Francisco has not stood in dread and danger of a public outbreak by reason of the presence of the Chinese here, which, if it did occur, would appal the world. And it speaks volumes of praise for her civil authorities that they have so far been able to uphold and maintain the majesty of the law and the preservation of public order, with all the irritating influences that have been constantly encountered calculated to provoke riot and bloodshed. Why not, then, recognize the fact that no two elements in nature under chemical laws are more antagonistic to each other than are these two races when brought in contact? Why not cease the effort to compel them to commingle when the only result will be the more frequent recurrence of such scenes as these massacres, which we all so fully abhor and condemn, but which we cannot prevent so long as we persist in this unnatural effort?

It is not a question of sentiment, it is not a political theory that is at issue, which is to be maintained at every hazard; it is a question of common sense and common humanity. And it is as certain as the movements of the planets that a question, involving as this does the material welfare of the laboring classes and the moral welfare of the whole American people, will one day right itself by a revolution that will be as resistless as the ocean tides, if the government of the United States persists in refusing to put an end to the evil, and thus put an end to the possibility of outbreaks and massacres that are disgraceful to the American people, and humiliating to humanity itself.

In discussing this aspect of the Chinese question, it is better to treat it with frankness than to disguise it with sophistry. The States of the Pacific Coast are sufficiently remote from the great centers of American population and political power to attract but a comparatively insignificant share of public attention. California, as the once glowing El Dorado of the American Continent, no longer commands that conspicuous position in the public mind that she once occupied, however much she may have enlarged her wealth and population since she became a State of the American Union. Her local troubles, arising from the enormous influx of Chinese that have been thrust upon her by her geographical position, and the peculiar conditions under which she has labored, have attracted but a minor share of public attention in States east of the Mississippi, however gigantic and important they have seemed, and still seem, to her own people. Mankind, selfish and absorbed in their own local events and individual welfare, in the mass devote but little consideration to the welfare of a people remote from them, except at intervals when chance or some great public calamity or extraordinary event affecting such remote community happens to bring them up for discussion. And when the appeals for relief from the evils of Chinese immigration go up, even with unanimous accord, from the people of California, because the subject cannot be brought directly home to the whole people of the whole Union, it occasions but a ripple upon the surface of public events, and has long ago ceased to be more than a common-place topic. But, unless the attention of the American people can be aroused to the magnitude and importance of this tremendous question by an exposition of the real issues involved in it, moralize as we may, the day is not remote when that attention will be aroused by events that will transpire here which will startle the whole civilized world. The Pacific States will then attract a degree of attention that will, by reason of their very remoteness and inaccessibility, command that consideration which they cannot now obtain, and make them literally "masters of the situation."

"Let us reason together." There is no axiom in human morals more clearly absolute and immutable than that "self-preservation is the first law of nature." There is no principle in the world's economy more thoroughly well established than this, and in a free republic like our own all the National, State or municipal laws that ever were or ever will be enacted cannot overcome this inherent principle in our natures. Is it to be presumed that when, after every possible appeal has been made for national relief, the laboring classes find their last hope dissipated, and themselves beaten back in retreat from competition with the continually-advancing hordes of Chinese cheap laborers, and the policy of the National Government finally fixed in favor of further toleration of this indescribable evil, is it to be presumed that this law of self-preservation will not then assert itself in such summary methods as will be resistless and final? We must revolutionize human nature itself before we may dare to dream of other results than these; for, if unfortunately it should come to this, there will one day inevitably be a conflict of races here upon the American soil that, however much it may startle and horrify the world, will furnish a solution of this great problem proportionately as bloody in its results as those which the rebellion recorded upon so many sad pages of American history.

The American Republic possesses no more loyal and patriotic people than those of California, no matter in what section of the Union we may look for them. Let this issue take on the dreadful aspect here foreshadowed, and they will still be loyal as they are now. But should it unhappily reach that stage, not all the power of the National Government can soon enough be put forth to avert the dreaded calamity, and not all the power of the National Government will then be sufficient to avenge the deed. For, once the issue is thus forced, once this unhappy condition of things accomplished, there could be no effort at punishment that would not involve the welfare and perhaps the lives of thousands of laboring men here, whom the people of the Pacific Coast would defend and protect with their own lives if necessary, even though in assuming this attitude they would stand in open rebellion and defiance of the National Government; for they would not fail to recognize the fact that upon the National Government the true responsibility for the disaster should justly rest, and not upon their exasperated, desperate, even though unwise, immediate fellow-citizens. We may as well meet the issue fairly and frankly as to evade it by failure to acknowledge the true magnitude of the great danger that is involved in the question.

The gulf between labor and capital is wide enough already to tax the wisdom of mankind in an effort to bridge it over and harmonize the interests that stand in constant antagonism against each other. Shall it be widened and deepened more by the introduction of a species of human degradation in the field of American labor that is "but little better than old-fashioned slavery," and which will result in making the rich richer and the present laboring classes poorer? Can capital and capitalists afford to invite this issue in addition to the serious problem which they are at present endeavoring to solve in adjusting upon a satisfactory basis the relations at present existing between capital and labor? If such be the attitude of capital and capitalists, it means eventually political revolution, by which a new kingdom will be established upon the American Continent, and American labor shall be crowned as its reigning and hereditary king. That will be the inevitable issue, and we may as well recognize the fact as to foolishly ignore it. For if such are to be the prevailing conditions, if such is to be the attitude of Capital vs. Labor, it will be but the triumph of the right; and the right must prevail.

# PART II.

# REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE.

*To the Honorable, the Board of Supervisors of the City and County of San Francisco:*

GENTLEMEN:

Your Special Committee, appointed on the second of February last to investigate and report upon that section of San Francisco commonly known as "Chinatown," have diligently prosecuted the labors thus assigned to them, and respectfully report as follows:

Without attempting to deal with the Chinese occupancy of any portions of the city outside of these limits, your Committee confined their investigations to the locality embraced within the boundaries of California street on the south, Kearny street on the east, Broadway on the north, and Stockton street on the west, covering twelve blocks in all. The drift of Chinese population has carried large numbers into blocks west of Stockton street, but for economical reasons we have considered that it was unnecessary at the present time to go beyond the boundaries we have named for the purposes to be covered by this report.

A map of the district embraced within these boundaries accompanies this report. It represents the character of occupancy of the first or street floor alone, and does not show the character of occupancy of the basements and sub-basements, or the floors above the street. This, of course, could only be done by a series of block maps. Every floor and every room in "Chinatown" has, however, been visited by your Committee, or by the surveyors employed by them, and the conditions of occupancy of every room are fully described and set forth in the detailed report of the surveyors, which will be filed with this report.

## *The General Aspect of the Locality.*

When your Committee commenced their investigations, they made a general examination of "Chinatown," visiting as often as they could, conveniently, houses, shops, and places of business in all parts of that locality, with the desire and intention of obtaining a correct idea of the general condition of things there, and the ordinary mode of life and practices of its inhabitants. Your Committee were at that time impressed with the fact that the general aspect of the streets and habitations was filthy in the extreme, and so long as they remained in that condition, so long would they stand as a constant menace to the welfare of society as a slumbering pest, likely at any time to generate and spread disease, should the city be visited by an epidemic in any virulent form. Your Committee are still of the opinion that it constitutes a continued source of danger of this character, and probably always will, so long as it is inhabited by people of the Mongolian race. They are glad to be able to say, however, that the presence and operation of the surveyors since employed by them have had a most salutary effect—whether lasting or not—in inducing a "general cleaning up" where filth was the rule before, until a better general aspect is now presented than was the case at the time when this investigation began.

Knowing the peculiar habits of this people, it is not likely that this better condition of things will continue long, now that the operations of the surveyors employed by your Committee have been concluded, or that anything better will follow than a relapse back into their more dense condition of nastiness, in which they apparently delight to exist. Nevertheless, something has been gained in the demonstration of the fact that by constant watching and close supervision the residents of Chinatown can be made to adopt somewhat better habits, and become less obnoxious—on this score, at least—as well as a lesser source of danger to the public health; and, therefore, it is perhaps well to inquire now whether it will not be wise to inaugurate new rules and a new policy, under which they must be brought, if they are to continue to remain among us.

In speaking thus of the improvement that has taken place in the general appearance of "Chinatown" since your Committee commenced its investigations, we would not be understood as saying that the condition of the locality is in any sense what it should be in point of cleanliness. Our effort is to point out the fact that, as compared with what it was four months ago, it presents an improved aspect. The difference is one of degree, however, and even in its bettered aspect, in its byways, its slums, and its purlieus, its habitations, some of its places of business and places of amusements, it is to-day the filthiest spot inhabited by men, women and children on the American continent.

All great cities have their slums and localities where filth, disease, crime and misery abound; but in the very best aspect which "Chinatown" can be made to present, it must stand apart, conspicuous and beyond them all in the extreme degree of all these horrible attributes, the rankest outgrowth of human degradation that can be found upon this continent. Here it may truly be said that human beings exist under conditions (as regards their mode of life and the air they breathe) scarcely one degree above those under which the rats of our water-front and other vermin live, breathe and have their being. And this order of things seems inseparable from the very nature of the race, and probably must be accepted and borne with—must be endured, if it cannot be cured—restricted and looked after, so far as possible, with unceasing vigilance, so that, whatever of benefit, "of degree," even, that may be derived from such modification of the evil of their presence among us, may at least be attained, not daring to hope that there can be any radical remedy for the great, overshadowing evil which Chinese immigration has inflicted upon this people.

## *The Population of Chinatown.*

No known method of census-taking has ever yet sufficed to furnish an approximate idea even of the numbers of our Chinese population. It is believed that the system which has been adopted in the conduct of this investigation will result in establishing a more correct conclusion on this point, so far as the twelve blocks covered by it are concerned, than can be obtained through any other method. Every building in this district has been visited, examined, measured, and delineated on the map of the district herewith furnished; the number of rooms which each contains, and the number of bunks or sleeping accommodations given in the report furnished your Committee by its surveyors, and certainly with approximate accuracy, the number of men, women and children of Chinese origin *who sleep* in this district, is now known and is herewith given. On this basis, and through this system of computation, we are enabled to show what we believe is a fair return of the population of the district referred to. Whatever Chinese population there may be outside of this district (which is, of course, well known to be quite large) must still remain a matter of speculation and "guess-work" until such time as further measures may be adopted to ascertain the fact.

Your Committee have found, both from their own and individual observations and from the reports of their surveyors, that it is almost the universal custom among the Chinese to herd together as compactly as possible, both as regards living and sleeping-rooms and sleeping-accommodations. It is almost an invariable rule that every "bunk" in Chinatown (beds being almost unknown in that locality) is occupied by two persons. Not only is this true, but in very many instances these bunks are again occupied by "relays" in the day time, so that there is no hour, night or day, when there are not thousands of Chinamen sleeping under the effects of opium, or otherwise, in the bunks which we have found there.

Besides these bunks, rolls of bedding, for use in sleeping on floors and various other sleeping-accommodations, are found. All these bunks, rolls, etc., have been carefully noted and enumerated in their reports furnished to us by the surveyors; and from them we reach the following results of an estimated enumeration of the population of "Chinatown."

For convenient reference, the numbers of the blocks named from time to time in this report are those by which the same blocks are distinguished in the books of the Assessor. The boundaries of the blocks so numbered are also given:

| Number of Block. | Boundary by Streets. | Number of Bunks. |
|---|---|---|
| 87 | Broadway, Pacific, Kearny and Dupont................ | 163 |
| 88 | Pacific, Jackson, Kearny and Dupont.................. | 796 |
| 89 | Jackson, Washington, Kearny and Dupont............. | 1,446 |
| 90 | Washington, Clay, Kearny and Dupont................. | 976 |
| 91 | Clay, Sacramento, Kearny and Dupont................. | 1,388 |
| 92 | Sacramento, California, Kearny and Dupont........... | 741 |
| 110 | Broadway, Pacific, Dupont and Stockton.............. | 477 |
| 111 | Pacific, Jackson, Dupont and Stockton................. | 1,989 |
| 112 | Jackson, Washington, Dupont and Stockton........... | 2,828 |
| 113 | Washington, Clay, Dupont and Stockton.............. | 2,325 |
| 114 | Clay, Sacramento, Dupont and Stockton.............. | 1,287 |
| 115 | Sacramento, California, Dupont and Stockton..... .... | 764 |
| | Total number of Bunks........................... | 15,180 |

Not only have your Committee found that the rule is for two persons to each "bunk," and relays of sleepers through the day in many, if not most instances, but women and children seem also to be stowed away in every available nook and corner, without reference to any special accommodation being provided for them. Taking, therefore, the total number of "bunks" and multiplying that total by two, must be at least a safe minimum estimate of the population in these twelve blocks, with every probability favoring the conclusion that an addition of perhaps twenty per cent. would not more than cover the real number of Chinese inhabiting that locality.

On this basis, allowing two persons to a "bunk," and adding no percentage for excess from any of the foregoing reasons, we have a population in Chinatown of 30,360. And this, your Committee believe, is the lowest possible estimate that can fairly be made.

### *Chinese Women and Children.*

It is a less difficult problem to ascertain the number of Chinese women and children in Chinatown than it is to give with accuracy the male population. First, because they are at present comparatively few in numbers; and, second, because they can nearly always be found in the localities which they inhabit. This investigation has shown, however, that whatever may be the domestic family relations of the Chinese Empire, here the relations of the sexes are chiefly so ordered as to provide for the gratification of the animal proclivities alone, with whatever result may chance to follow in the outcome of procreation.

There are apparently in Chinatown but few families living as such, with legitimate children. In most instances the wives are kept in a state of seclusion, carefully guarded and watched, as though "eternal vigilance" on the part of their husband "is the price of their virtue." Wherever there are families belonging to the better class of the Chinese, the women are guarded and secluded in the most careful manner. Wherever the sex has been found in the pursuance of this investigation under other conditions, with some few exceptions, the rule seems to be that they are here in a state of concubinage merely to minister to the animal passions of the other sex, with such perpetuation of the race as may be a resultant consequence, or else to follow the admitted calling of the prostitute, generally of the lowest possible grade, with all the wretchedness of life and consequence which the name implies. That this is not mere idle assertion, the following statement of the number of women and children found in Chinatown in the course of this investigation, and which includes probably nearly every one living in that locality, will, we trust, sufficiently demonstrate:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Women | 57 | Living as Families. |
| Children | 59 | |
| Women | 761 | Herded together with apparent indiscriminate parental relations, and no family classification, so far as could be ascertained. |
| Children | 576 | |
| Prostitutes | 567 | Professional prostitutes and children living together. |
| Children | 87 | |

### *Chinese Prostitution.*

This examination has led to the foregoing result in regard to the relation of the sexes. No well-defined family relations have been discovered other than as shown, while the next classification seems to be a middle stratum between family life and prostitution, partaking in some measure of each, if such a condition of things can be possible.

The most revolting feature of all, however, is found in the fact that there are so large a number of children growing up as the associates, and perhaps the protegés of the professional prostitutes. In one house, alone, on Sullivan's Alley, your Committee found the inmates to be nineteen prostitutes and sixteen children. In the localities habited largely by prostitutes, women and children, who apparently occupy this intermediate family relationship already alluded to, live in adjoining apartments and intermingle freely, leading to the conclusion that prostitution is a recognized and not immoral calling with the race, and that it is impossible to tell by a survey of their domestic customs where the family relationship leaves off and prostitution begins.

It is well, perhaps, for your Committee at this point to lay before you, and before the public, all that they propose to say in this report upon the subject of Chinese prostitution here, and its effects upon the boys growing up in this community, and then to dismiss this disgusting branch of the subject. Fortunately, after presenting a statement of the number of professional prostitutes, their mode of life, and the district which they inhabit, as shown upon the accompanying map, all the other points are covered by the evidence elicited by the Legislative Committee appointed to investigate the Chinese Immigration question in 1877, from which we quote as follows:

The Rev. Otis Gibson testified before this Committee that he had resided in China ten years, and had seen and learned a great deal about Chinese immigration. He said:

"The women, as a general thing, are slaves. They are " bought or stolen in China and brought here. They have " a sort of agreement to cover up the slavery business, but " it is all a sham. The paper makes the girl say she owes " you four hundred dollars or so, passage money and outfit " from China, and has nothing to pay. I, being the girl, " the man comes up and offers to lend me the money to pay " you if I will agree to serve him, to prostitute my body at " his pleasure, wherever he shall put me, for four, five or " six years. For that promise of mine made on the paper, " he hands him the four hundred dollars, and I pay the debt " I owe you according to contract. It is also put in the " contract that if I am sick fifteen days no account shall be " taken of that, but if I am sick more than that, I shall " make up double. If I am found to be pregnant within a " month you shall return the money and take me again."

Alfred Clarke, Esq., Chief Clerk of the Police Department, confirmed the testimony of Mr. Gibson as to the manner in which these Chinese women are obtained and brought here. He submitted a paper written in Chinese characters, which, translated, reads as follows:

"An agreement to assist the woman Ah Ho, because, coming from China to San Francisco; she became indebted to her mistress for passage. Ah Ho herself asks Mr. Yee Kwan to advance for her six hundred and thirty dollars, for which Ah Ho distinctly agrees to give her body to Mr. Yee for service of prostitution for a term of four years. There shall be no interest on the money. Ah Ho shall receive no wages. At the expiration of four years Ah Ho shall be her own master. Mr. Yee Kwan shall not hinder or trouble her. If Ah Ho runs away before the time is out, her mistress shall find her and return her, and whatever expense is incurred in finding and returning her Ah Ho shall pay. On this day of agreement Ah Ho, with her own hands, has received from Mr Yee Kwan six hundred and thirty dollars. If Ah Ho shall be sick at any time for more than ten days, she shall make up by an extra month of service for every ten days' sickness. Now this agreement has proof: this paper received by Ah Ho is witness.

"TUNG CHEE.

"Twelfth year, ninth month and fourteenth day." (About the middle of October, 1873.)

And, again, Mr. Clarke produced a second similar paper, which, translated, reads as follows:

"AN AGREEMENT TO ASSIST A YOUNG GIRL NAMED LOI YAU."

"Because she became indebted to her mistress for passage, food, etc., and has nothing to pay, she makes her body over to the woman Sep Sam, to serve as a prostitute to make out the sum of five hundred and three dollars. The money shall draw no interest, and Loi Yau shall serve four and one-half years. On this day of agreement Loi Yau receives the sum of five hundred and three dollars in her own hands. When the time is out Loi Yau may be her own master, and no man shall trouble her. If she runs away before the time is out, and any expense is incurred in catching her, then Loi Yau must pay the expense. If she is sick fifteen days, or more, she shall make up one month for every fifteen days. If Sep Sam shall go back to China, then Loi Yau shall serve another party until the time is out: if in such service she should "be sick one hundred days or more, and cannot be cured, "she may return to Sep Sam's place. For a proof of this "agreement this paper. "LOI YAU.

"Dated second, sixth month, of the present year."

Mr. Clarke testified that prostitution is carried on here under just such contracts as these, and that the last one was taken from a Chinawoman who had been brought in. He further testified that when one of these women escapes she is followed and taken back by her owners. "If they fail "they generally have her arrested for larceny, and get possession in that way. They use the processes of our Courts to "keep these women in a state of slavery. When they become "sick and helpless there are instances where they have been "turned out to die. The bones of the women are not returned to China as are the bones of the men."

James R. Rogers testified that he had been special police officer in the Chinese quarter four or five years; that the prostitutes "are held as slaves, bought and sold. They are "held as prostitutes, and are obliged, by what they call their "mother, the head woman or boss of the institution, to "stand at the windows and doors and solicit prostitution. "Most of the Chinese houses of prostitution are patronized "by whites—by young men and old ones. I have taken "boys of not more than ten or twelve years of age from out "of these houses. The schedule of prices is such that boys "can afford to go there and patronize them."

Dr. Toland testified that he was the founder of the "Toland Medical College," and a member of the Board of Health. "He had seen boys eight and ten years old with "diseases they told me they had contracted on Jackson "street. It is astonishing how soon they commence indulging in that passion. Some of the worst cases of "syphilis I have ever seen in my life occur in children not "more than ten or twelve years old. They generally try to "conceal their condition from the parents. They come to

" me, and I help to screen it from their parents, and cure " them without compensation. Sometimes parents, unaware " of what is the matter, bring their boys to me, and I do all " I can to keep the truth from them."

Asked what effect it must have upon this community if these Chinese prostitutes are allowed to remain in the country, he said: "It will fill our hospitals with invalids, " and I think it would be a very great relief to the younger " portion of the community to get rid of them."

Asked to what extent these diseases come from Chinese prostitutes, Dr. Toland said: "I suppose nine-tenths. " When these persons come to me I ask them where they got " the disease, and they generally tell me that they have been " with Chinawomen They think diseases contracted from " Chinawomen are harder to cure than those contracted elsewhere, so they tell me as a matter of self-protection. I am " satisfied, from my experience, that nearly all the boys in " town who have venereal disease, contracted it in Chinatown. " They have no difficulty there, for the prices are so low they " can go whenever they please." He had never heard or read of any country in the world where there are so many children diseased as there are in San Francisco. And, further, that "it is a most frightful condition of things." " Generally they are improperly treated, and syphilis or gonorrhœa runs on from week to week, until stricture results, " and that is almost as bad as constitutional syphilis, because " it requires a long time to cure it."

Dr. J. C. Shorb testified that he was a physician and surgeon, and a graduate from the University of Pennsylvania. He said:

"The presence of Chinese women here has made prostitution excessively cheap, and it has given these boys an " opportunity to gratify themselves at very slight cost.

"I have had boys from twelve years up to eighteen and " nineteen—any number of them—afflicted with syphilis con-

" tracted from Chinese prostitutes. The extent of the evil is " very general, and I suppose my experience must be the " experience of all the physicians in San Francisco in full " practice."

There is a mountain of testimony of a similar nature, all of which might properly be quoted here; but it would be simply cumulative, and your Committee do not consider it necessary to go into it further. We have shown that Chinese prostitution exists among us as the basis of the most abject and satanic conception of human slavery. That it is conducted upon the most inhuman principles. That our own laws are successfully invoked to shield, protect and foster it. That it is the source of the most terrible pollution of the blood of the younger and rising generations among us, and that it is destined to be the source of contamination and hereditary diseases among those who are to come after us too frightful to contemplate, and, possibly, already too strongly entrenched as an evil to be successfully modified, much less eradicated.

We do not desire to arouse any undue public excitement or indignation on this subject; but our duty is to state the facts as they exist, and yours to exercise all the cool and deliberate judgment that can be brought to bear upon it, in a calm and thorough search for the best remedy that can at present be applied, or the wisest action that can be taken in dealing with this branch of the Chinese question.

### *White Prostitution in Chinatown.*

The investigations which have been carried on by your Committee have developed another disgusting and surprising feature. It is in reference to white prostitution in that locality. The map accompanying this report shows in what sections and to what extent of area white prostitution exists in Chinatown. The number of degraded women who ply this vocation there is unknown. But the point that will impress itself more strongly upon the ordinary mind is that these women obtain their patronage almost entirely from the Chinese themselves. Their habitations seem to have been taken up in the Chinese quarter solely for this purpose, and their mode of life seems to be modeled after that of the Mongolian, to a larger extent than after the manners and customs of the race to which they belong.

Many, if not most of them, confirmed victims to the opium habit in one form or another, they present pictures of pallid wretchedness hard to parallel in any community where total depravity rules supreme, and their sex sinks to the lowest point of human degradation. The Chinese drug and opium stores at night usually contain numbers of these wretched beings seeking opium or medicaments for the physical diseases to which they are constantly subjected; and more wan, sad, hopeless and wretched-looking faces the human eye seldom encounters in the streets or slums of the most populous cities of the world.

This is a feature of prostitution in Chinatown with which it is difficult and perhaps impossible to deal. Your Committee can only point out the conditions under which it exists as one of the numerous evils which attach to and grow out of the presence of the Chinese among us. It is one of the many counts in the indictment against the race, and upon which we hold them up for trial before the public opinion of our country, from which we bespeak a just and wise verdict. For the poor, wretched woman who enters this particular walk of life there need be no punishment other than her own miseries; no word of reproach, but all our pity. Let her "who enters here leave hope behind."

### *White Women Living With Chinamen.*

Another surprising as well as disgusting feature developed in this investigation is the fact that there are numerous instances of white women living and cohabiting with Chinamen in the relation of wives or mistresses. In one instance where an example of this was found, there was one white woman living among a large number of Chinese women and children—the mistress of one or more of "the little brown men"—who, when the place was visited by the surveyors employed by your Committee, roundly berated them for thus invading the citadel of their domestic rights, and threatened various modes of punishment therefor. In one instance a Chinaman had assumed marital relations with a fair widow with several children by a Caucasian husband.

Instances of these examples of "assimilation" of the two races are as follows:

At No. 900 and 902 Dupont street, one white woman living with a Chinaman on the third floor; at 613 Jackson street, second floor; at 708 Commercial street, second story; at 708 Commercial street, third story; at 710 Commercial street, third story; at 718 Commercial street, second story. There are in each of the foregoing one white woman and one Chinaman living together. At 740 Commercial street, second story, and at 916½ Stockton street, there are two white women in each place living with Chinamen.

### *Evasions and Defiance of Municipal Laws.*

There is hardly a phase of life in Chinatown that does not furnish a striking example of constant violation of municipal laws. It may almost be said that the whole Chinese community exists in open defiance of the law, and, as a matter susceptible of clear demonstration, they are at present, and long have been, stronger than the law, (as it is administered), to which we of other races are sternly held amenable. It becomes necessary for your Committee to prove the affirmative of this proposition, and, once proved, it invites discussion of this proposition, viz: If a race constituting one-seventh, say, of the entire population of San Francisco is able to successfully violate and defy the local laws to which the remaining six-sevenths are held amenable, what will be the effect when the ratio of the same race shall have increased until it becomes numerically stronger, as it assuredly will be if Chinese immigration is not finally and permanently restricted?

Your Committee do not admit, however, that the present percentage of Chinese in our midst are stronger than the law, if the authorities, whose duty it is to administer the law, are equal to the occasion, and are furnished the necessary means and men to enforce it. As the case stands at present, the facts show that there is constant violation of the law, without any effectual attempt to enforce its penalties, and it will become the duty of this Board, when the facts are placed before them, to endeavor to change the existing practice by the enactment of such municipal laws as may be necessary to restrict present abuses, and to see that existing ordinances are enforced for the accomplishment of like purposes. To assume that our local laws cannot be effectually enforced in the case of the Chinese is to admit that that race, which we so heartily despise, is stronger than we are, and to abandon the principles for which we are contending.

### *Violations of Sanitary Laws in Chinatown.*

In a sanitary point of view Chinatown presents a singular anomaly. With the habits, manners, customs and whole economy of life violating every accepted rule of hygiene; with open cess-pools, exhalations from water-closets, sinks, urinals and sewers tainting the atmosphere with noxious vapors and stifling odors; with people herded and packed in damp cellars, living literally the life of vermin, badly fed and clothed, addicted to the daily use of opium to the extent that many hours of each day or night are passed in the delirious stupefaction of its influence, it is not to be denied that, as a whole, the general health of this locality compares more than favorably with other sections of the city which are surrounded by far more favorable conditions.

It seems impossible to account for this condition of things upon any other theory than that of the constant fumigation to which Chinatown is subjected, as has already been suggested in this report. Open wood fires from cellar to attic, cigars, tobacco and opium pipes, all contribute hourly clouds of smoke to the fumigation process, and probably prevent the generation and spread of zymotic-diseases that otherwise could scarcely fail to rapidly decimate the Chinese population of San Francisco, and effectually adjust the Chinese Immigration question without the aid of treaty or Congressional intervention. These preventive influences can never be a sufficient guard against cholera or any other like visitation, however, and are not and cannot be sufficient to justify the municipal authorities in tolerating the unclean mode of life that prevails in Chinatown. This mode of life must always make this locality a threatening source of pestilential danger to the community at large whenever pestilence comes in any form, borne upon the wings of the wind, or stealing in "like a thief in the night," by any other of the mysterious pathways which it too often thrids so silently, without warning of its approach, until it is upon us with its deadly influences.

Dr. A. L. Gibson, Medical Director of the United States Navy, and a man who ranks high in his profession, says upon this point:

> " Where there are fresh air and dryness and cleanliness there can be no cholera; and where there are not it will come in spite of proclamations and perfunctory quarantines. Fumigations and disinfections which mask putrescence and substitute medicinal smells for sickening stenches are as ridiculous as the noise of gongs and tom-toms, and exploding fire-crackers and gingals, by which the Chinaman hopes to frighten the devils who desolate his home and country, and worse than useless from the false sense of security which they give."

It is not wise nor is it the intention of your Committee to excite undue apprehension in the public mind upon this subject. But it is both wise and a matter of public duty that the true condition of things should be known, in order that unseen but possible dangers may be guarded against so far as it may be in our power to do so. With this end in view we invite attention to the following facts:

The frequent custom with this people is to have the brick and mortar bench where cooking is carried on, the sink, always more or less filthy, and an open, filthy, bad-smelling water-closet, all adjoining each other in the same room, or under the same cover. Frequently a space at the end of this cooking range—if we may call it so—is used as a urinal, the only outlet from which is the absorption of and seepage through some earth placed there for that purpose, while the intermingling odors of cooking, sink, water-closet and urinal, added to the fumes of opium and tobacco smoke and the indescribable, unknowable, all-pervading atmosphere of the Chinese quarter, make up a perfume which can neither be imagined nor described. This is no exaggeration, nor is it a fancy sketch. It is one of the common features of life in Chinatown.

The details of the survey, which will be filed with this report, will furnish all the data that will be necessary to satisfy the most skeptical on this point; but, what is far better, will be a visit to Chinatown itself and to the habitations themselves, where such ocular and olfactory proofs as will present themselves to the visitor will leave no more to be added.

The municipal laws intended to protect the sanitary welfare of the city, among other things, provide as follows:

## ORDER 1,587.

[Privy-vaults, Drains, etc., to be Connected with Street Sewers, and Traps Constructed.]

SECTION 4. No person shall construct or maintain, or suffer to be or remain upon his or her premises, or premises under his or her control, any privy, or privy-vault, cesspool, sink or drain, without connecting the same by means of cement, iron-stone or iron-pipe, with the street sewer, in such a manner that it shall be effectually drained and purified, if there be a sewer in the street on which said premises may be situated with which the same can be connected. Every drain or branch sewer hereafter constructed which

**shall connect with a dwelling-house or building, or with any privy, privy-vault or cesspool, shall be constructed of cement, iron-stone or iron, and be provided with some apparatus or means by which such drain or branch sewer may be effectually flushed and cleansed; and shall also be provided with a trap or apparatus which will effectually prevent the escape of gases from the sewer into such dwelling-house, building, privy, privy-vault or cesspool, which trap or apparatus shall, in all cases, when practicable, be placed under the sidewalk and be so constructed and placed that it can be readily and conveniently examined and inspected. (As amended March 30, 1882, by Order No. 1,666.)**

**[Privy-vaults, Construction of.]**

**Section 5. No person shall construct, without the consent in writing of the Health Officer, any privy-vault on premises belonging to him or under his control, unless the walls and bottom of such vault be of stone or brick, laid in cement, and at least eight inches in thickness.**

**[Privies, etc., when Foul or Offensive, a Nuisance.]**

**Section 6. No person shall suffer or permit any premises belonging to or occupied by him, or any cellar, vault, privy, pool, sewer or private drain thereon or therein, to become nauseous, foul or offensive, and prejudicial to public health or public comfort.**

One of the most important points developed in the whole course of this investigation is the flagrant violation of the sections of Order 1,587, above quoted, which is constantly carried on in Chinatown, for which a radical remedy should be found, and for which property-owners themselves should be held responsible. There is, and can be, no possible excuse for these violations of the law. It involves the public health and public safety, and calls for immediate remedial action.

The instances where the water-closets, sinks, etc., discharge into open cesspools, and where there are other violations of the sections quoted, are more than numerous. Some few examples may be pointed out by way of illustration: 719 Sacramento street, water-closet and cesspool in rear; 823 Sacramento street, open cesspool in basement. In Oneida Place every second house has a sink and hopper running down to open box below and connected with sewer in center of court. Sewerage in rear of court, into which water-closets and sinks empty, is in center of court in box, and is open in several places.

In the building on Jackson street, sometimes called "The Palace Hotel," and occupied by about 400 people, there are four water-closets in the center of the court on each of the floors, all running together below in one common cesspool, all open with no trap, and all in a horribly filthy condition.

At 616 Dupont street, open cesspool in sub-basement under air-shaft, used as a urinal and receptacle for all the slops of the building. The same at 614½ Dupont street.

At 646 Pacific street there is "a public water-closet in the hall for the building and rear." The whole rear and hall is very filthy, open sewerage running across the north end, seething up through the ground, extending through the hall to Pacific street.

In the basement on the east side of Bartlett Alley, in what is known as the Dog Kennel, filth and its accompanying stenches reign supreme. A blind woman and several dogs and cats live in the kennel in a state of wretched squalor that baffles description, while the rear space is occupied by water-closets without traps, leading into what receptacle no one knows, the whole area and surroundings being wet, mouldy and rotten. The lowest grade of prostitution guards the entrance to this den on either side, and the hideous visages that peer through the wickets help to add to the general aspect of degradation and misery that reigns below.

The basement of the next building adjoining is a twin specimen in filth and methods of violation of the sanitary regulations which we have quoted.

At 714 Jackson street, in the basement, occupied by seven Chinese prostitutes and two children, there are no water-closets, and the slops and filth generated in this underground slum are flung into the street as an extra generous contribution to the rotting garbage that daily accumulates there, or disposed of in other ways unknown to your Committee.

At 727 Pacific street there is a laundry on the first floor. The kitchen is in the court. An open hopper at the north end is the common receptacle for slops and the water-closets besides, and is very filthy and nauseating.

At No. 8, west side of Sullivan's Alley, there are several kitchens and water-closets with open hoppers, all without separating partitions, and the latter all open to the cesspools or sewers into which they lead. The foul odors that they exhale mingle with the Mongolian messes that simmer upon the adjoining cooking device, nauseating the visitor but apparently adding zest to the appetite of the Celestials who eat, drink and sleep there.

At 707 Pacific street there is a room in the rear on Sullivan's Alley, with urinal, kitchen and water-closet all together for the building covering 711, 707 and 705 Pacific street, and 1031, 1027, 1025 and 1023 Dupont street. To say that it is filthy does not convey an idea of its condition. To say that its condition and arrangement openly violate the law is all that we need to burthen you with in this report. The same arrangement and condition of things exists in the upper floor of the same building.

At 808 and 812 Clay street there are repetitions of kitchens, water-closets and filth, open from cesspool or sewer, to the rooms in which they are located, and all subject to the same comment and description already given.

At 616 and 614½ Dupont street there are open cesspools, water-closets and sinks, and at hundreds of other localities similar conditions exist. Briefly, there are filth and filthy conditions everywhere, violations of the ordinance we have quoted everywhere, realizations and revelations everywhere of a distinct definition of the term "Chinese stink-pots," that differ, perhaps, from the heretofore commonly-accepted meaning of the term, but are none the less tangible as such new definition—all-pervading, though we may not see, feel or hear them, but overwhelmingly apparent through the medium of the remaining senses of taste and smell.

Some-day, when Pestilence shall fold her black wings and alight among us to gorge her lust for death, there will be such other tangible evidences of the dire influences that will grow out of this condition of things as will appeal in unanswerable anguish to our hearts as well as our senses, and lead to vain regrets that we have not long ago enforced the laws and corrected this terrible evil.

### *"The Cubic Air Ordinance."*

It is not too sweeping a declaration to make to say that there is scarcely a habitation in Chinatown in which the so-called "Cubic Air Ordinance" is not constantly violated. This constant and habitual violation of the municipal regulation illustrates in the most forcible manner the truth of the assertion which we have already made, that the habits and mode of life among the Chinese here are not much above "those of the rats of the water front."

It is not the desire or intention of your Committee to present any extreme case selected from any particular locality, to illustrate any feature of the peculiarities of Mongolian life in Chinatown, but rather to convey to the Board and to the public, as far as it is possible to do so, a fair idea of the condition of things in that locality, and a general comprehension of the mode of life of this class of our population.

Herewith we present some instances illustrating the *ordinary* habits of the Chinese laboring classes in the matter of sleeping and living accommodations. They are given as furnishing a fair average example, so far as we have been able to ascertain, of the disregard in which the so-called "Cubic Air Ordinance" is held by the Chinese, and as possibly illustrating the hopelessness of attempting to enforce it—a point which will be discussed later:

| STREET. | Number. | FLOOR. | Number of occupants allowed under the Cubic Air law. | Number of actual occupants. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dupont | 814½ | Sub Basement | 9 | 32 |
| " | " | Basement | 21 | 70 |
| " | " | First Floor | 7 | 46 |
| " | " | Second Floor | 26 | 60 |
| " | " | Third Floor | 34 | 68 |
| Sacramento | 817 | Basement | 6 | 24 |
| Bartlett Alley | | Basement | 16 | 68 |
| " " | | First Floor | 6 | 14 |
| Oneida Place | | 10 rooms, 1st floor | 31 | 94 |
| Brooklyn Place | | First Floor | 4 | 24 |
| Jackson | 624 | Basement | 3 | 5 |
| " | 628 | " | 3 | 14 |
| " | 632 | " | 2 | 6 |
| " | " | First Floor | 3 | 16 |
| " | 620 | Basement | 3 | 14 |
| " | 622 | " | 4 | 20 |
| " | " | " | 6 | 30 |
| " | " | First Story | 3 | 6 |
| " | 615 | Basement | 3 | 16 |
| Washington | 737 | Second Story | 3 | 8 |
| " | 735 | Basement | 10 | 34 |
| " | 733 | Second Story | 4 | 12 |
| Brenham Place | 9 | " " | 8 | 24 |
| " " | " | Third " | 8 | 18 |
| " " | " | Fourth " | 6 | 22 |
| Clay | 767 | Second " | 7 | 22 |
| " | " | " " | 4 | 12 |
| " | 804 | " " | 2 | 8 |
| " | 809 | Basement | 3 | 20 |
| " | 812 | Second Story | 5 | 16 |

This may be taken as a fair type of the common manner of life in Chinatown among the ordinary laboring classes. There are places much more densely crowded, and some not as densely crowded. But this represents the prevailing rule, and the other extreme (about equally divided), the exception.

The atmosphere at night in these crowded dens—many of which, it will be seen, are in cellars—when the occupants are in possession, is something indescribably horrible; especially when vitiated by the smoke of opium and tobacco, the effluvia from surrounding filth, and the exhalations from the bodies of the Celestials who inhabit them.

Descend into the basement of almost any building in Chinatown at night; pick your way by the aid of the policeman's candle along the dark and narrow passageway, black and grimy with a quarter of a century's accumulation of filth; step with care lest you fall into a cesspool of sewage abominations with which these subterranean depths abound. Now follow your guide through a door, which he forces, into a sleeping-room. The air is thick with smoke and fetid with an indescribable odor of reeking vapors. The atmosphere is tangible. Tangible—if we may be licensed to so use the word in this instance—to four out of the five human senses. Tangible to the sight, tangible to the touch, tangible to the taste, and, oh, how tangible to the smell! You may even hear it as the opium-smoker sucks it through his pipe bowl into his tainted lungs, and you breathe it yourself as if it were of the substance and tenacity of tar. It is a sense of a horror you have never before experienced, revolting to the last degree, sickening and stupefying. Through this semi-opaque atmosphere you discover perhaps eight or ten—never less than two or three—bunks, the greater part or all of which are occupied by two persons, some in a state of stupefaction from opium, some rapidly smoking themselves into that condition, and all in dirt and filth. Before the door was opened for your entrance every aperture was closed, and here, had they not been thus rudely disturbed, they would have slept in the dense and poisonous atmosphere until morning, proof against the baneful effects of the carbonic acid gas generated by this human defiance of chemical laws, and proof against all the zymotic poisons that would be fatal to a people of any other race in an hour of such surroundings and such conditions.

It is from such pest-holes as these that the Chinese cooks and servants who are employed in our houses come. Cleanly though they may be, in appearance, while acting in the capacity of domestic servants, they are nevertheless born and reared in these habits of life. The facility with which they put on habits of decency when they become cooks and servants simply adds other testimony to their ability to adapt themselves to circumstances when it is their interest to do so. But the instinct of the race remains unchanged; and when the Chinese servant leaves employment in an American household he joyfully hastens back to his slum and his burrow, to the grateful luxury of his normal surroundings, vice, filth and an atmosphere of horror.

### *Opium Resorts in Chinatown.*

The following table shows the number and location of the public Opium Resorts. The "opium lay-out" is found in nearly every sleeping-room in Chinatown, and is nearly as common as the tobacco pipe; but these dens are for the general accommodation of those who have no sleeping bunks and conveniences for opium-smoking of their own, and who therefore frequent these resorts to indulge in the habit.

The bunks are occupied night and day, and the spectacle of pallid men in a condition of death-stupor, wrapped in the dirty rags which constitute their bedding, may be witnessed in these dens any day from 10 A. M. to 2 P. M:

| STREET. | Number. | FLOOR. | No. of Bunks | REMARKS. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sacramento...... | 731 | Basement...... | 12 | Filthy. |
| Clay.............. | 809 | " ...... | 23 | " |
| Dupont........... | 616 | Sub Basement.. | 8 | 24 feet below the street line, and very filthy. |
| Waverley Place.... | 34½ | Basement...... | 14 | Filthy. |
| Spofford Place.... | 23 | First Floor..... | 10 | Opium refinery in rear, filthy. |
| Washington....... | 825 | Basement ..... | 10 | Filthy. |
| Washington....... | 836 | First Story. ... | 11 | " |
| Sullivan's Alley... | 7 | " " ..... | 6 | " |
| Dupont. .... | 918 | Basement...... | 12 | " |
| Washington Place. | 26 | " ...... | 19 | " |
| Cooper's Alley.... | ........ | First Story..... | 8 | " |
| Bartlett Alley..... | E side | Basement...... | 14 | Very filthy. |
| " " ..... | 32 | Rear first floor.. | 3 | Filthy. |
| Jackson...... .... | 708 | Rear Basement. | 14 | " |
| " ...... .... | 818 | Basement. ..... | 13 | " |
| Dunscombe Alley.. | E. side | " ...... | 12 | " |
| " " | " | " ...... | 12 | " |
| " " | W. side | " ...... | 11 | " |
| " " | " | " ...... | 10 | " |
| " " | " | " ...... | 11 | " |
| " " | " | " ...... | 14 | " |
| Jackson...... .... | 728<br>730 | " ...... | 26 | " |
| Pacific............ | 727 | First Floor..... | 4 | " |
| Dupont........... | 1001½ | Rear Basement. | 16 | " |
| Jackson...... .... | 626 | Basement...... | 7 | " |
| " ...... .... | 632 | " ...... | 19 | " |

The use of opium is so general among the Chinese that no visitor to Chinatown, night or day, can enter many sleeping-rooms without finding men indulging in the habit. Nor will the explorer travel far without finding them under every stage of its influence down to the dead stupor such as would seem to furnish fit subjects for the Coroner and the morgue, rather than as beings to whom life is ever to return again.

### *Violations of the Fire Ordinances.*

If the prevailing rule of constant violation of the fire ordinances in Chinatown is to be longer tolerated, for the sake of consistency at least, if it were legally possible, there should be an additional section added, exempting the Chinese quarter from the operations of these ordinances, for it is true that they are utterly disregarded if not defied; and we have failed to discover that any determined attempt is made on the part of the authorities to enforce them. Possibly it is not practicable to enforce them, and possibly it furnishes another illustration of the presumption that the Chinese are a law unto themselves, stronger than the municipal or statute laws, and stronger than the race which surrounds them. Herewith we present a diagram of the first floor of a building on Oneida Place. The fire-places are shown as indicated, and are a fair type of the manner in which they are constructed all over Chinatown. The chimney, it will be observed, is practically an unknown convenience. A brick bench laid in mud mortar, in a window, upon a balcony, or any like place, upon which the fire for cooking is built, leaving the smoke free to escape as it will, is all that is necessary for cooking purposes. Sometimes this plan is varied by the substitution of a tin box or vessel filled with earth for the brick platform, but the uses and purposes of the chimney, cooking or other stoves or ranges, are apparently unknown. In no other part of the city, and by no other people, are such dangerous methods pursued; nor would they be long tolerated if they were. Considering the combustible nature of the surroundings, it is hardly less than a miracle that conflagrations are not constantly occurring, and that fire has not long ago swept Chinatown out of existence and a large section of San Francisco besides. The municipal law upon this subject is plain and explicit. It provides as follows:

"No person shall kindle or maintain any fire of charcoal, "wood or other combustible material, in or upon any open "tin, metal can, or any earthenware vessel whatsoever, in "any room, entry or passage, or in any other part of any "house in this city and county; or in any furnace or stove of "any kind, unless the same be connected by means of a "good sheet iron flue or pipe, with a brick or earthen pipe "chimney, to conduct the smoke and fire into said brick or "earthen pipe chimney."

There is not a day in the year in which this order is not violated in hundreds and hundreds of instances. At the same time, the point which has already been alluded to in this report, viz., that the constant fumigation to which Chinatown is subjected from these open wood fires, may be the source of prevention of zymotic diseases, should not be lost sight of. But, conceding that such is the fact, and that the risk and evil of these open fires be tolerated and the fumigation process be thereby preserved rather than to risk the possibility of disease growing out of their suppression, the fact stands out none the less clear-cut and striking that the very presence of these people among us compels the admission of the proposition that we cannot enact laws general in their application to which they can safely be subjected. Nor can we, on the other hand, enact special laws that shall apply alone to this or any other race of people, nor can we by any legislative action constitutionally exempt them from subjection to the general laws to which all other classes and races among us are amenable.

The paradox involved, then, in these contradicting propositions, is by the simple fact that in this, as in many other things, these people when they come among us are above and beyond the law, and so they must possibly remain. Stated briefly, the special point now under consideration is this: The law prohibits these open fires; if they are not suppressed they will constitute a standing menace from fire, and may at any moment involve the city in a disastrous conflagration. If they *are* suppressed, there is every probability that Chinatown will become the seat of zymotic or other diseases which may involve the public health of the city at large and the sacrifice, possibly, of hundreds of lives annually. It is a choice of two evils—evils that the presence of this race among us forces upon us and which never can be wholly avoided so long as they are among us.

In the construction of privies, apart from the violations of the sanitary ordinances already referred to, the city ordinances relating to the fire limits, etc., provide that "privies or water closets of wood," shall be constructed in a particular manner, and shall not "project over the line of any "street, lane, alley or place, and they shall not be used for "any other purpose." No regard is paid to this provision of the municipal laws whenever it suits the convenience of occupants of buildings in Chinatown to ignore them. There are many instances that might be pointed out where this rule is violated.

The two Chinese theatres furnish striking examples of the audacity of the race in ignoring the law, and the impunity with which such violation is practiced. In both these theatres almost every specified provision of the fire ordinance relating to places of amusement is openly violated, even down to that clause of the ordinance which provides that no portion of a theatre "shall be occupied or used as a hotel, boarding "or lodging house," etc. In the case of the Washington street theatre it is at once both boarding and lodging house, containing bunks for 150 persons, all of whom eat and sleep under its roof.

## *The Chinese Labor Problem.*

The essentially American policy of a tariff for protection to home industry is not alone on trial as against the opposing doctrine of Free Trade. Protection against the "pauper labor of Europe" as a system of public policy may be advocated, upheld and practiced as we will, but it is clear that the doctrine is absolutely nullified, and the laws that are enacted to support it are successfully and effectually evaded by the importation, not of the *products* of pauper labor, but of pauper labor itself, of a far lower grade than that of Europe, viz., the Asiatic.

The political party which claims to be the party of protection to home industry by means of a high tariff necessarily stultifies itself if it fails to set itself against the greater of these dangers, the importation of Asiatic pauper labor, as well as against the free importation of the products of European pauper labor. For it is clear that Asiatic labor here upon our own soil, which can exist here at a less cost for living than can even the pauper labor of Europe exist upon European soil, not only possesses a dominant advantage over home labor, but also over the "pauper labor of Europe" itself, about which we declaim so earnestly. If this "Asiatic pauper labor," tolerated here upon our own soil, can produce here any article of manufacture cheaper than the same article can be produced in Europe, the advantage is not alone the difference in the cheapness of the product, but in the tariff which is imposed on the article thus manufactured in Europe and imported here. Therefore the Asiatic laborer residing here literally commands the situation. The result of such a competition is indisputable. Either the American laborer must come down to a level with the imported "little brown man" in habits of life and desires, or he must become a helpless pauper himself.

This is not the gospel of the "Sand Lot;" it is the gospel of political truth, upon which all parties should agree who have the welfare of society at heart, and to whom humanity itself ought not to plead in vain.

Cool and dispassionate consideration of this great overshadowing question is now the necessity of the hour, uninfluenced by the senseless jargon of "The Chinese must go," or any other shibboleth of the demagogue. Planted here in this young, but already great metropolis, is a Mongolian population forming about one-eighth of the entire community, and probably one-fourth of the laboring classes, equal to the task of competition in any line of skilled or unskilled manufacture. Their habits and mode of life render the cost of support less than one-fifth of that of the ordinary American laborer, who exercises what is commonly recognized as the strictest rules of economy and thrift. This first combing of the wave of Chinese labor is to-day in more than successful competition with the home workman here in the production of every article of clothing, cigars, and other like necessities and luxuries of life, to the extent that, practically, the occupation of the skilled home laborer is gone, indeed, even at this early stage of the contact.

This statement of the case has been presented heretofore in various forms, but it has too often been howled in insensate and unreasoning clamor from the "Sand Lot" instead of being proved by the medium of crystalized fact and the inexorable logic of demonstrated truth.

It is within the province and scope of this report to supply this "missing link" through the facts which have been collated in this investigation, and about which there can surely be no dispute, if human evidence is of value at all in the search for truth, hidden where it may be.

Your Committee, then, apart from theorizing, invite the attention of the Board and of the American people to their exhibit of facts relating to this subject of Chinese labor here in San Francisco alone, and the inevitable result which must sooner or later be reached all over the land as the Chinese tide advances and sweeps competition to the winds.

It need not be said that the discussion of this phase of the question is useless now because of the treaty and the legislation which is supposed to prohibit Chinese immigration; for the fact is but too apparent to every resident of San Francisco that Chinese immigration is still flowing in in appalling numbers, and the treaty and the prohibitory legislation scarcely modifies the strength of the tide, much less prohibits. Therefore it is more than in order at this time to analyze and discuss the effect of Chinese pauper labor upon the welfare of the American laborer and the American people.

Among the tabular statements forming an appendix to this report will be found one marked "Exhibit A," giving a list of the manufacturing establishments in Chinatown and the various lines of manufactured goods which are produced there. This exhibit forms in itself but a minor factor in the problem, since the great body of Chinese laborers in skilled and unskilled manufacture is employed outside of the limits of Chinatown, and, indeed, outside of the limits of the City and County of San Francisco. But what is taking place here will but too painfully illustrate the appalling character of the danger which this Asiatic invasion typifies. The lesson which that invasion ought to teach, through such exhibits as these, can only be nullified by the preaching of these blind, fanatical theories which have heretofore made an idol of "the little brown man," but which are none the less a wicked abomination to the Christian mind than are the grotesque and hideous idols which form the objects of worship of "the little brown man" himself.

It appears from this Exhibit that there are employed in Chinatown to-day not less than 2,326 Chinese workmen engaged in the manufacture of clothing of various descriptions, boots and shoes, leather, cigars, etc., all of which is produced for consumption here in competition with the American workmen engaged in the same line of manufacture. Most of this labor is carried on through the use of the best modern machinery, in the operation of which the Chinese workman becomes an adept in a short space of time. Machinery for the manufacture of boots and shoes in the large establishments operated by Chinese labor supplies a large share of the demand for the whole Pacific Coast. The Hop Kee Company, on Dupont street, an establishment employing at some seasons of the year three hundred men, finds a market for its goods as far east as Salt Lake City at present, and will at no distant day invade the country east of the Mississippi, giving manufacturers there an opportunity to become practically acquainted with the effects of "Chinese cheap labor" and the results which follow in its train.

In the manufacture of clothing, ladies' underwear, shirts, etc., 1,245 sewing machines are kept actively at work, all operated by male laborers with a skill that is equal to the best efforts of the American woman, as well as the American man, in this direction, and all run with such quick-handed, untiring energy, that it suggests one of the most curious physiological problems of the day to understand how a people, nurtured and fed as they are, can possess the vitality and physical force necessary to the results which they achieve in this direction.

Most of this labor is carried on by "piece-work" and to fill orders for large "down-town commercial houses" engaged in the sale of the class of goods thus produced. The heavy, strong-stitched jean overalls which find so large a market on this coast, are made by the Chinese workmen at the rate of about fifty-five cents per dozen pairs. The work thus produced—at a price which would reduce the American worker, male or female, to a lower level than the "woman, weary and wan" whose misery Hood depicted so graphically in "The Song of the Shirt"—the Chinaman thrives upon, and is prosperous and happy. But it is a prosperity and a happiness that is based upon a mode of life that a homeless cur upon the streets might not envy, upon which the American laborer could not exist until a succession of generations had so brutalized and blunted his race proclivities that he had degenerated into a condition worse than barbarism and become a curse to civilization, instead of what he is to-day, the vital strength of the nation.

## *Gambling in Chinatown.*

We come now to the consideration of a phase of life in Chinatown which, for manifest reasons, your Committee would gladly avoid referring to if it were not in their plain line of duty to do otherwise.

These reasons are, that in any fair presentation of the matter of gambling and the gambling dens in Chinatown a serious responsibility must be brought home to the Police Department, or the owners of the property where these dens are situated must accept the responsibility themselves. If the responsibility for the existing condition of things does not rest in one of these quarters, then it must be set down to the debit of a weak, inefficient public policy that has long prevailed in San Francisco, by which laws for the protection of the public health and public morals have either not been enforced or are yet not sufficient in themselves in the form of their enactment. In either case it is an unpleasant task for your Committee to attempt to fix the responsibility; but it is their duty to state the facts, and, so far as possible, to suggest the remedy for what seems to be a great public evil.

Here, again, we are met with the most positive evidences that have yet been produced, that the Chinese population among us openly defy the State and Municipal laws. These laws are strong enough, as has been conclusively proved, to shut up gambling-houses run by white men, and to make the occupation of the gambler completely amenable to the majesty of the law. It is not so in Chinatown. The appendix to this report, "Exhibit B," furnishes a list of "iron-clad," barricaded gambling dens in Chinatown which are veritable citadels and strongholds built to defy assault and to baffle police interference.

This list comprises about 150 places in all, the approach to which is through a series of plank and iron doors, in every instance with grated windows, cunningly devised trap-doors for escapes, and in many instances iron-clad walls or partitions. Many of these doors bear the marks and indentations of the sledges of the police who have assailed them from time to time, which attack has usually been successfully resisted, however, long enough to enable every evidence of the gambling games carried on within to be destroyed, before the assailants were admitted. The convenient water-closet, or kitchen fire, always adjacent to and forming part of these dens, furnish ready means to destroy the tan-markers or lottery devices, and innocent Celestials, sitting "childlike and bland," apparently in wonder why they have been disturbed and against whom no charge can be successfully maintained in the Courts, are all that is found within, when entrance has once been gained. Such is the statement of the officers of the Police Department, and such statement seems to be generally borne out by the facts.

On the other hand, considering how numerous the gambling dens are, considering that many of them open direct upon the street, it would seem that there must be negligence somewhere to enable the business to be carried on so successfully, in view of the fact that the gambling houses kept by men of our own race have been so energetically and effectually dealt with.

But this proposition is again met and answered, and answered with much force, by the statement that the number of men in the police force, and the means with which the department is provided, are not sufficient to enable Chinatown to be effectually patrolled and the gambling houses thoroughly watched and raided. Further, that, so long as property-holders will permit these barricaded gambling hells to be constructed, so long as they will permit their houses to be thus converted into fortresses for the purpose of defying the law, and, further, so long as the municipal authorities will permit property-holders thus to allow these Chinese tenants to misuse their property to the public injury and for the purpose of violating the law, so long the evil must exist, and nothing less than a police force large enough to constitute a constant army of occupation must be kept in Chinatown, with battering-rams and dynamite, if necessary, to enable them to open and raid these dens of vice. And to this, it seems to your Committee, there is no answer. It brings home the blame for this condition of things to the municipal authority itself, which, by a proper display of its own power, at whatever cost it may be involved, *can* and *must*, sooner or later, try conclusions with Chinatown and the Chinese, and make them amenable to the law in everything.

### *"The Heathen Chinee."*

"The little brown man," as he is designated by one of the most prominent members of the United States Senate, and a representative of a State that is commonly assumed to stand in the fore-front of human progress, is considered by many Christians as a most fitting subject for Missionary work and conversion to Christianity. It is possibly no legitimate part of the work assigned to your Committee to examine and report upon this branch of the subject, and possibly it is their duty to do so. From our point of view it seems but proper to us that the people throughout our country should have as full a knowledge as possible of what thirty-five years of constant attrition of Christianity and Idolatry has resulted in, as exemplified in the history of the Chinese in San Francisco. It is proper that the world should be informed as to whether Christianity advances or retreats before Chinese Idolatry when brought into immediate contact with each other. ; whether the Christian religion is to be the gainer or the loser ; whether the human souls that are to be lost or saved are to change in their relations of ratio to each other, according to the doctrines of Christianity; whether it is or is not worth while to permit them to continue to come among us in the beneficent hope that "the true faith" may be more widely promulgated and souls be saved that must otherwise be eternally lost.

For true missionary work your Committee have the most unbounded respect and sympathy. For efforts in this direction that the stern experience of the past thirty-five years have demonstrated by cold practical results to be more than sterile and barren, and for those who have wasted their labor in the field, your Committee can entertain no other sentiment than that of charitable pity. For those who, in spite of every proof of its utter uselessness, continue to be the advocates of Chinese immigration with this "hope of conversion" doctrine as one of the main reasons and justification of their action, we have nothing but contempt and disgust.

So far in San Francisco "the Heathen Chinee" has, in the slang parlance of the day, "got in his work" with the same irresistible force as that with which Boston's other "slogging" champion has always displayed in his ring encounters. And Senator Hoar, and his followers, who would fain open wide our gates to the "little brown man," that he may be converted to Christianity and share in the blessings of American citizenship, may possibly find food for new reflection by a careful study of some of the naked facts which your Committee have been enabled to present upon this branch of the subject. In this view of the matter, then, your Committee consider it their duty to invite public attention to the following facts:

The proofs, as developed by this investigation and which are so plain as to be beyond question, are these: The Chinese brought here with them and have successfully maintained and perpetuated the grossest habits of bestiality practiced by the human race. The twin vices of gambling in its most defiant form, and the opium habit, they have not only firmly planted here for their own delectation and the gratification of the grosser passions, but they have succeeded in so spreading these vitiating evils as to have added thousands of proselytes to the practice of these vices from our own blood and race. The lowest possible form of prostitution—partaking of both slavery and prostitution—they have planted and fostered to a lusty growth among us, and have innoculated our youth not only with the virus of immorality in its most hideous form but have, through the same sources, physically poisoned the blood of thousands by the innoculation with diseases the most frightful that flesh is heir to, and furnishing posterity with a line of scrofulous and leprous victims that might better never have been born than to curse themselves and mankind at large with their contagious presence. They have successfully overridden and defied the laws of morality in every form, and the statutory laws of the State and municipality. They have driven the American laborer to the wall and taken the bread from the mouths of thousands of deserving families, while all that missionary work has done among them, all that contact with Christianity has accomplished in the line of conversion to "the true faith," is as imperceptible and as slow in its results as is the influence of the smallest comet that ever blazed into view in planetary space upon the great orbs that traverse their appointed pathways within the solar system to which they belong. Let us see if this is not the fact.

First, as is shown upon the map accompanying this report, the "Joss House" is, proportioned to population, even more common in Chinatown than are the edifices of the Christian church in other portions of the city. Idols of the most hideous form and feature squat upon their altars, from which license, in the belief of the Chinaman, sufficient to justify crime or vice of any degree may be had for the asking. Idols that typify, not the precepts of morality taught by Confucius, carved and created by the mechanical fancy of the most skillful Mongolian artist into every conceivable distortion of feature and limb, more frequently represent and give license to the practice of a vice, than a virtue to be inculcated and lived up to. Even the "Goddess of Prostitution" sits enthroned upon her altar in more than one Joss House in San Francisco, and licenses her votaries to the practice of nameless indulgences and the most bestial gratification of their sensuous lusts. Let the sceptic who views this statement as an exaggeration or misrepresentation of fact visit the Joss Houses of San Francisco and he will no longer doubt; for it is the truth.

While the Chinese have thus planted their idolatry among us with all its attendant vices, while they have undermined the morals and the physical health of our youth, and defied our laws, what has Christianity to show, through the aid of its Missionaries or otherwise, in its conflict with Asiatic heathenism, whether it be in the advance of Christian morals or the Christian religion?

In morals, nothing! And no one can possibly so pervert the truth as to maintain otherwise. In religious teachings let the evidence of the Missionaries themselves speak for itself.

The Rev. Otis Gibson, who testified before the Legislative Committee upon the occasion heretofore referred to, said that he had been a Missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church in China ten years. That he had long been doing missionary work here among the Chinese. That from information obtained from the books of the Six Companies he thought there were about 150,000 Chinamen in California.

Asked, "How many of these Chinamen have become "Christians—Roman Catholics as well as Protestants?"

He answered, "I could not give you statistics of that "exactly. I don't know what the statistics of the Roman "Catholic Church are. They have very few proselytes."

Q.—"What do you suppose your converts amount to? Can you approximate how many?"

A.—"I suppose that in this city there may be in all one hundred."

Again, he was asked by Mr. Eggers: "I would like to have you give us your experience as a Missionary with these people?"

A.—"Our success with this people has been slow. They begin by going to school, and we gradually teach them to have a disgust for idolatry. That is the first point reached. During my labors *I have baptised thirty-five or thirty-six persons.*"

Q.—"In how many years?"

A.—"Since 1871, properly speaking."

This was in 1878, so that the net product of Mr. Gibson's labors in seven years was thirty-five or thirty-six Mongolian souls saved by baptism—provided that it proved that the religion with which they were thus dyed was of fast colors and did not subsequently wash out, by a new baptism of their own election.

Rev. A. W. Loomis testified that in seventeen years of missionary work in San Francisco his school had "received eighty members; deducting twenty who have been dismissed, and we have sixty-three."

Let us hear what others testify to upon this question: Wong Ben, an intelligent Chinese interpreter, testified before the Legislative Committee as follows:

Q.—"Do you know any Christian Chinamen?"

A.—"Yes."

Q.—"How many?"

A.—"Ten or fifteen. Some believe little. Some just go to school to learn to read; that is all. Some believe everything."

Lee Kan, interpreter for the Bank of California, testified as follows:

Q.—"Do you know any Chinese Christians?"

A.—"Yes, sir."

Q.—"Are you one?"

A—"No, sir."

Q.—"Are these men real Christians or are they only pretending to be?"

A.—"I cannot tell."

Q.—"As a rule, are they not such persons as would become Christians for good salaries and good positions?"

A.—"I guess so."

Q.—"Do you hear any of them say that Sunday-school is a good place to learn English?"

A.—"Yes, sir."

Q.—"Did it strike you that they were more anxious to learn English than to get religious teaching?"

A.—"Yes, sir."

Now, post the ledger and ascertain how the account stands. Thirty-five or thirty-six souls saved by the missionary work of Mr. Gibson, eighty by Mr. Loomis, making one hundred and fifteen in all, deducting nothing for backsliders, in a maximum period of seventeen years, that being the term of the administration of Mr. Loomis! Against this, thousands of young men debauched and diseased for life by reason of their presence among us; innumerable young men and young women confirmed in the opium habit from the same source; the laboring classes deprived of work and impoverished, their children graduated in the school of "Hoodlumism;" the laws set aside and defied; a filthy and disgusting mode of life set up by a clannish population in the fairest and best portion of the city, and made a constant menace to the welfare of the community by reason of the danger from fire and disease that will some day spring from that locality. All this to offset the salvation of a few score of souls of beings whose miserable lives *and* souls ought not in the aggregate to bear a feather's weight against the deep damnation of the curse they have inflicted upon our race, and the ruin and everlasting misery they have brought upon thousands—if the Christian religion be "the true faith" by which human souls are to be saved.

All this, while their Joss Houses are still illuminated by the dim lamps that rest upon their altars and the oil of which is never burned out. The smoke of their incense still wends its way upward, the Joss sticks of fate still invite the superstition of the fatalist, and Chinese idolatry remains, not alone unshaken and full of vigor, but, in the contest thus far with the Christian religion upon these shores, it has beaten down the barriers interposed against it, and laughed to scorn the labors of the Missionary.

So far, it is the victor, in full possession of the field. So far, Christianity has beaten against it with as little effect and as little purpose as the waves of the Pacific with their sweep of thousands of miles to give them force accomplish, when they thunder and break against the rocky and jutting head-lands of our own Golden Gate.

There never was a more wicked and shameful exhibition of detestable, narrow-minded bigotry than that which seeks to justify Chinese immigration by linking it with a scheme for the salvation of souls. The beasts of the field, the vagrant dogs that the Pound-master gathers upon the streets to put to death by drowning, are vastly better worthy of our commiseration than the whole Mongolian race when they they seek to overrun our country and blast American welfare and progress with their miserable, contaminating presence.

Let the would-be religious enthusiasts of the tribe who would feed the cannibal with texts from the Bible as a cure for his propensity to dine off of human flesh, and scatter tracts in Borrioboolagha as food for the starving, and who believe in the power of Christian contact to wrestle with Chinese idolatry, come here and study this question as your Committee have studied it, and they will return cured of the mind malady with which they are now afflicted, or be entitled to life support and care in any idiot asylum in the land. So much for the "salvation" side of the Chinese question.

### *The Chinese as Murderers.*

The spectacle of the past few weeks, of police officers stationed at night at each end of the alleys leading slumward in Chinatown, searching the persons of the Chinese who enter and depart therefrom for the purpose of discovering concealed weapons, is edifying. It has grown out of a murder which was not long ago committed near one of these alleys, and as it was the work of the assassin's deadly knife, and has so far baffled all effort at discovery, the police authorities, in the most praiseworthy manner, are endeavoring to prevent a similar recurrence and possibly discover some clue to the murderous Mongol now in hiding.

This brings before your Committee the subject of "unpunished crime" in Chinatown, upon which it is proper that such facts as have come to our knowledge should be laid before you.

Not only does the cunning and utter unscrupulousness of Chinamen enable them to evade our laws, but the evidence is conclusive that they have well organized tribunals of their own which punish offenders against themselves when it is their interest to punish, but which never punish those who violate the laws of the city or the State.

It has been said of them, with great force and truth, that they "are not only not amenable to law, but they are governed by secret tribunals unrecognized and unauthorized by law. The records of these tribunals have been discovered, and are found to be antagonistic to our legal system."

"These tribunals are formed by the several Chinese companies or guilds, and are recognized as legitimate authorities by the Chinese population. They levy taxes, command masses of men, intimidate interpreters and witnesses, enforce perjury, regulate trade, punish the refractory, remove witnesses beyond the reach of our courts, control liberty of action, and prevent the return of Chinese to their home in China without their consent. In short, they exercise a despotic sway over one-seventh of the population of the State of California.

"They invoke the processes of law only to punish the independent action of their subjects, and it is claimed that they exercise the death penalty upon those who refuse obedience to their decrees.

"We are disposed to acquit these companies and secret tribunals of the charge of deliberate intent to supersede the authority of the State. The system is inherent and part of the fibre of the Chinese mind, and exists because the Chinese are thoroughly and permanently alien to us in language and interests. It is nevertheless a fact that these companies or tribunals do nullify and supersede the State and National authorities. And the fact remains that they constitute a foreign government within the boundaries of the Republic."

Such were the conclusions arrived at by the Legislative Committee in 1876. And they fairly justified their conclusions by the proofs which they elicited in the course of their investigations. We cannot better illustrate this than to quote from them at length. They say:

"That we have not overstated the facts, we beg to refer briefly to some of the testimony of reputable witnesses, given under the sanction of an oath, before this Committee.

"James R. Rogers, a San Francisco officer of intelligence and experience, testifies as follows, (see volume of testimony herewith transmitted, p. 61):

A.—"I do not know of my own knowledge that such a tribunal exists (secret Chinese tribunal). I only know that when a Chinaman swears differently from what they want him to his life is in danger. They sometimes use our Courts to enforce their orders, just as policy may direct. They have no regard for our laws, and obey them, so far as they do, only through fear.

"D. J. Murphy, District Attorney of the City and County of San Francisco, and one of the ablest and most experienced criminal lawyers in the State [now one of our Criminal Court Judges], testifies as follows, (Evidence, pp. 82 and 83):

Q.—"In your official capacity, have you been brought into contact with Chinese?"

A.—"Yes, sir; I have looked on my docket for two years, and I find that of seven hundred cases that I examined before the Grand Jury one hundred and twenty were Chinese, principally burglaries, grand larcenies, and murders—chiefly burglary. They are very adroit and expert thieves. I have not had time to examine for the last two and a half years, but the proportion has largely increased during that time."

Q.—"Do you find any difficulty in the administration of justice where they are concerned?"

A.—"Yes, sir. In capital cases, particularly, we are met with perjury. I have no doubt but that they act under the direction of superiors, and swear as ordered. In many cases witnesses are spirited away, or alibis are proven. They can produce so many witnesses as to create a doubt in the minds of jurymen, and thus escape justice. In cases where I have four or five witnesses for the prosecution they will bring in ten or fifteen on the part of the defense. They seem to think that numbers must succeed, and it very frequently so happens. It frequently occurs that before the Grand Jury, or on preliminary examination, witnesses swear so as to convict, but on the trial they turn square around and swear the other way. I have heard it said that they have secret tribunals where they settle all these things, but I know nothing of that. It is my impression that something of the kind exists, and I think they sometimes use our Courts to enforce their decrees. I have had to appeal to Executive clemency for pardon for Chinamen sent to the State Prison by false swearing, under circumstances which led me to believe them to have been the victims of some organization of that kind."

Q.—"Innocent men can be convicted?"

A.—"Yes; and I have no doubt innocent men are convicted through the medium of perjury and 'jobs' fixed up on them. I have had doubts, during the last three months, in cases of magnitude, involving long terms of imprisonment."

Q.—"Among reputable lawyers of this city, who have had experience with Chinese testimony in the Courts, what value has that testimony, standing by itself?"

A.—"By itself, and without being corroborated by extrinsic facts or white testimony, it is very unreliable."

Mr. Ellis, Chief of Police of the City of San Francisco, and who has been attached to the Police force of that city for twenty years, testifies as follows, (Evidence, p. 112): "That it is generally believed that the Chinese have a court where differences are settled; and that if, in secret, it determines to convict or acquit a Chinaman (on trial before our Courts) that judgment is carried out. In a great many cases I believe they have convicted innocent men upon perjured evidence."

Mr. Charles T. Jones, who for several years past has been the able and efficient District Attorney of Sacramento County (the county in which is located our State Capitol), testifies as follows, (Evidence, pp. 124 and 125):

A.—" During my term of office I have had considerable to do with Chinese criminals, and always have great difficulty in convicting them of any crime. I remember well the case of Ah Quong, spoken of a few moments ago by Ah Dan. At the time I was defending three parties charged with kidnapping, and I had Ah Quong as interpreter, knowing him to be honest and capable. The circumstances of the case were these: A Chinaman wanted to marry a woman then in a house of prostitution. She desired to marry him, and he went with two of his friends to the house. She went with them. They drove out of town to get married, when the Chinaman who owned her heard of it and started some officers after her. She was arrested and surrendered to these Chinamen, with instructions to bring her into Court next day. I had this man to interpret for me, being well satisfied that she would swear that she was not being kidnapped. The next day the owners brought into Court a woman whom the defendants informed me was not the one at all, but another. The attorneys for the other side insisted that it was, believing the statements of their Chinamen to that effect. The case was postponed for two or three days, when it was shown that the woman offered was not the one taken away. This interpreter told me they would kill him as sure as these defendants were not convicted. We went out of the Court-room, and he told me he was afraid to go on I street. I told him not to go then, but I did not think they would trouble him. Half an hour afterwards he was brought back, shot in the back, and a hatchet having been used on him mutilated him terribly. This was in broad daylight, about eleven o'clock in the morning, on Third and I streets, one of the most public places in the City of Sacramento. There were hundreds of Chinese around there at the time; but it was difficult, in the prosecution of the case, to get any Chinese testimony at all. It happened that there were a few white men passing at the time, and we were enabled to identify two men, and they were convicted and sent to the State Prison for life, after three trials. They attempted to prove an alibi, and after swearing a large lot of Chinamen they said they had twenty more. The Chinese use the Courts to gain possession of women. Sometimes it happens that where a man is married to a woman they get out a warrant for his arrest, and before he can get bail they have stolen the woman and carried her off to some distant place. I have had Chinamen come to me to find out how many witnesses I had in cases. If they found out, they would get sufficient testimony to override me. Before I was District Attorney I have had Chinese come to me to defend them, and ask me how many witnesses I wanted, and what was necessary to prove in order to acquit.

Q.—"Do you often find that upon preliminary examinations and before the Grand Jury there is enough testimony to warrant a conviction, but on the trial these same witnesses swear to an exactly opposite state of facts?"

A.—"Very frequently."

Q.—"To what do you attribute that?"

A.—"I attribute that to the fact that they had tried the case in Chinese Courts, where it had been finally settled. I have records in my office of a Chinese tribunal of that kind, where they tried offenders according to their own rules, meted out what punishment they thought proper, etc. These records were captured in a room on I street, between Fourth and Fifth. I had them translated by an interpreter from San Francisco, and used them on the trial of the robbery cases. The records recite that the members enter into a solemn compact not to enter into partnership with a foreigner; that a certain man did so; and the company offers so many round dollars to the man who will kill him. They promise to furnish a man to assist the murderer, and they also promise, if he is arrested, they will employ able counsel to defend him. If convicted, he should receive, I think, three dollars for every day he would be confined, and in case he died, certain money would be sent to his relatives. These records appeared in evidence and were admitted; also, a poster that was taken from a house, offering a reward for the killing of this man. This poster was placed on a house in a public street. Being written in Chinese, of course they alone knew its contents, and informed us of them.

Mat. Karcher, for many years past Chief of Police for the City of Sacramento, testifies as follows. (Evidence, pp. 128 and 129):

Q.—"Do you know anything about their putting up offers of rewards upon walls and street corners, written in Chinese, for the murder or assassination of given Chinamen?"

A.—"Yes. Of course I could not read Chinese, but I secured some of these posters, and had an interpreter from San Francisco come up here and interpret them. They were rewards for the murder of some Chinamen who did something contrary to their laws. They have their own tribunals, where they try Chinamen, and their own laws to govern them. In this way the administration of justice is often defeated entirely, or, at least, to a very great extent. I know this, because I was present at a meeting of one of their tribunals about seven years ago. There was some thirty or forty Chinamen there, one appearing to act as Judge. Finally, the fellow on trial was convicted and had to pay so much money, as a fine for the commission of the offense with with which he was charged. Generally, their punishments are in the nature of fines; but sometimes they sentence the defendant to death. In cases in the Police Court we have often found it difficult to make interpreters act. They would tell us that they would be killed if they spoke the truth; that their tribunals would sentence them to death, and pay assassins to dispatch them. About two years and a half or three years ago Ah Quong was killed. During the trial, at which he was interpreter, there were a great many Chinamen. I stationed officers at the doors, and then caused each one to be searched as he came out of the room, the interpreter having told me that he feared they would murder him. Upon these Chinamen I found all sorts of weapons—hatchets, pistols, bowie-knives, Chinese swords, and many others. There were forty-five weapons in all, I think, concealed about their persons in all kinds of ways. The interpreter testified in that case, and half an hour after leaving the Court-room he was brought back, shot, and cut with hatchets. He was terribly mutilated, and lived only a few moments after being brought to the station-house. The murderers were arrested, but attempted to prove an alibi, and had a host of Chinese witnesses present for that purpose. Although there were some hundreds of Chinese present at the time of the murder, the prosecution was forced to rely upon the evidence of a few white men who chanced to see the deed committed. We were opposed at every turn by the Chinamen and the Chinese companies. As a general thing it is utterly impossible to enforce the laws with any certainty against those people, while they will themselves use our laws to persecute innocent men who have gained their enmity. They seem to have no idea concerning the moral obligation of an oath, and care not for our form of swearing."

Mr. Ellis, Chief of Police for San Francisco, testified as follows. (Evidence, p. 112):

Q.—"What are the difficulties in the way of enforcing laws in cases where the Chinese are concerned?"

A.—"The Chinese will swear to anything, according to orders. Their testimony is so unreliable that they cannot be believed."

Q.—"What is the greatest difficulty in the way of suppressing prostitution and gambling?"

A.—"To suppress these vices would require a police force so great that the city could not stand the expense. It is difficult to administer justice, because we do not understand their language, and thus all combine to defeat the laws."

Q.—"What is their custom of settling cases among themselves, and then refusing to furnish testimony?"

A.—"It is generally believed to be true that the Chinese have a Court of Arbitration where they settle differences."

Q.—"After this settlement is made, is it possible to obtain testimony from the Chinese?"

A.—"If in secret they determine to convict a Chinaman, or to acquit him, that judgment is carried out. In a great many cases I believe they have convicted innocent men through perjured evidence."

Mr. Davis Louderback, for several years past Judge of the Police Court of San Francisco, testifies as follows. (Evidence, p. 93):

Q.—"What do you know about the habits, customs, and social and moral status of the Chinese population of this city?"

A.—"I think they are a very immoral, mean, mendacious, dishonest, thieving people, as a general thing."

Q.—"What are the difficulties in the way of the administration of justice where they are concerned?"

A.—"As witnesses, their veracity is of the lowest degree. They do not appear to realize the sanctity of an oath, and it is difficult to enforce the laws where they are concerned, for that reason. They are very apt, in all cases and under all circumstances, to resort to perjury and the subornation of perjury. They also use our criminal law to revenge themselves upon their enemies, and malicious prosecutions are frequent."

An Chung testified:

Q.—"What do the Chinamen do with anybody who testifies in Court against the women?"

A.—Ah Geo, Wong Woon, and Ah Fook put up money to kill him."

Q.—"Do you know whether any paper is ever put up offering money to kill Chinamen?"

A.—"Yes. I saw them."

Q.—"Have they threatened to kill you if you testify?"

A.—"Yes. I am a little scared."

Q.—"What are you afraid of?"

A.—"Afraid shoot me."

Q.—"Do you know of anybody being killed?"

A.—"Yes."

Q.—"What for?"

A.—"One boy he testify against women, and they kill him with a knife."

Ah Gow sworn.

*Mr. Haymond*—"Can you speak English?"

A.—"Yes, sir."

Q.—"How long have you been in San Francisco?"

A.—"One year."

Q.—"How long in California?"

A.—"Three years."

Q.—"Where have you lived?"

A.—"At Half-moon Bay."

Q.—"What did you work at?"

A.—"Making cigars."

Q.—"For white people?"

A.—"No; for a Chinaman—Ah Wah."

Q.—"To what company do you belong?"

A.—"Ning-yeung."

Q.—"Do you know anything about threats being made against Chinamen for testifying in the American Courts?"

A.—"Ah Geo, Bi Chee, and Wong Woon say they shoot me."

Q.—"What for?"

A.—"They say I pick out prostitutes in Court."

Q.—"Are you a witness now?"

A.—"Yes, sir."

Q.—"Do they threaten to shoot you if you tell the truth?"

A.—"Yes, sir."

Q.—"Do you know anything about notices being posted up offering rewards for killing men?"

A.—"Yes. I have seen them."

Ah Dan sworn.

*Mr. Haymond*—"How long have you been in California?"

A.—"Almost ten years."

Q.—"From what part of China did you come?"

A.—"Back of Canton."

Q.—"How old are you now?"

A.—"I believe I am twenty-eight."

Q.—"What have you been doing since you came to California?"

A.—"Cooking in kitchens and working in restaurants."

Q.—"Have you been living with Americans most of the time?"

A.—"Yes, sir."

Q.—"Have you ever been interpreter in the Police Court?"

A.—"Yes, sir."

Q.—"Have you any fears about testifying here and telling all you know? Are you afraid?"

A.—"I ain't much afraid. I came up here to swear, and I must tell all I know."

Q.—"Have ever any threats been made against you for testifying in the Police Court, or for interpreting truly?"

A.—"Yes, sir; I am afraid because Chinamen got too much to gas about. Because one got convicted he think it all a put up job by me. In Sacramento City two interpreters killed."

Q.—"You say there were two interpreters killed in Sacramento?"

A.—"Yes, sir; one was Ah Quong, and one Ah Gow."

Q.—"How long ago?"

A.—"I wasn't in California the first one; Ah Quong, two years ago."

Q.—"What was he killed for?"

A.—"Because he interpreted in Court. Chinamen thought he ought to have American man get Chinaman clear. They thought he had power to do it; but he couldn't do it, and they killed him."

Q.—"If you are interpreting in Court, and you don't get a man clear, will they kill you?"

A.—"No, sir; I am not afraid when I do what is right."

Q.—"Have they threatened to kill you when you did not get Chinamen clear?"

A.—"No; not yet. Sometimes they get talking on the street about gambling-houses on I street, and Chinamen blame me for stopping them."

Q.—"What do they threaten to do—threaten to kill you?"

A.—"Talking about killing me."

Q.—"Do you know District Attorney Jones?"

A.—"Yes, sir."

Q.—"Did you tell him last week that some of them threatened to kill you?"

A.—"Yes, sir; some of them. A man came to me a few days ago and told me they were going to kill a Police Court interpreter, advising me to leave the city, because he said somebody would come and kill me; some men had put up rewards, and some men whom I did not know were coming from San Francisco to kill me. I was before the Grand Jury and explained the game of "tan," and for this they put up a reward, and I am to be killed by three men from San Francisco I don't know. The reward offered for my life is five or six hundred dollars. I have heard of rewards of this kind being put here and elsewhere. I have not seen any here, but have in San Francisco. They are in Chinese, and posted up, saying that these men will make agreement, if some man kill another, to pay the murderer so much money. These agreements for murder are red papers written in Chinese, and say they will give so much money on condition you kill so-and-so, naming the person. If the murderer is arrested, they will get good counsel to defend him. If he is sent to prison, they will pay him so much money to recompense him, and if he is hung they will send so much money to his relatives in China."

Q.—"Did you go to officer Jackson and ask him not to subpœna you, if he could help it, in the Hung Hi case?"

A.—"Yes. I said to him, 'I don't know about the case. If you put me on the stand, and it don't go as they want it, they will blame me.'"

Q.—"Didn't you tell him you were afraid they would kill you?"

A.—"I did tell him so."

Q.—"You were afraid?"

A.—"Yes, sir. I told Charley O'Neil some put up money to kill me. He told me not to fear—to keep a lookout for myself. In case I testify here to all I know, I'm afraid they will kill me."

Lem Schaum, a Christian Chinaman, educated and speaking English well, testified before the Committee as follows:

Q.—"Do you know anything about notices of rewards being posted up in Chinese quarters in San Francisco or here for the punishment of certain men—a notice of this kind: 'Five hundred dollars or six hundred dollars will be given for the assassination or murder of some Chinaman?'"

A.—"I do. That is a Chinese custom. When members of a company do anything against the rules of that company they are punished. Suppose one member of a company comes to me and says, 'Go and steal a woman from a Chinaman,' and I do so for him. Because I favor him, his enemies prove I stole the woman, and put up a reward of five hundred or one thousand dollars to have me killed. That is the way they do."

Q.—"Do they post their reward up publicly?"

A.—"I think not. I think they do that in secret."

Q.—"Has it been your experience that these secret judgments were carried into execution?"

A.—"They pop it to you every time."

Q.—"Almost every time a judgment is entered that a man shall die, and they offer so much money to have him killed, he is killed?"

A.—"Exactly."

Q.—"They take every advantage?"

A.—"Yes, sir."

Q.—"That is regarded as a death sentence?"

A.—"Yes, sir. The man knows he has to die, but gets out of the way if he can."

Q.—"That makes it difficult for any Chinaman, if he is so disposed, to protect women?"

A.—"Yes, sir."

Q.—"If a Chinaman takes a woman to the Mission, that sort of a reward will be offered?"

A.—"Yes, sir; most likely."

Q.—"Do you know of their custom of settling cases that get into the courts? For instance, a Chinaman is arrested for kidnapping one of these women. Do you know anything about their settling that among themselves and keeping the testimony away from the courts?"

A.—"I believe they do that."

Q.—"They have some sort of a tribunal in which they settle this thing for themselves?"

A.—"Yes, sir."

Q.—"Have they a tribunal which punishes offences against their customs?"

A.—"Yes, sir. For instance, suppose I should march myself out and kill a Chinaman. I am brought before the Company and made to pay a fine. They take the money and send it back to the family of the killed party to support his mother."

Q.—"If you kill a member of the See Yup Company, the See Yup Company will determine, through this tribunal, that you shall pay so much money?"

A.—"Yes, sir."

Q.—"Suppose you pay that money?"

A.—"Then I will be all right."

Q.—"They would not try to punish you by law?"

A.—"No, sir."

Q.—"Suppose you refuse to pay the money?"

A.—"I must go through the American courts."

Q.—"And they will convict you?"

A.—"Exactly."

Q.—"If you do pay the money they will protect you against the American laws?"

A.—"They let the whole matter drop."

Q.—"And keep witnesses out of the way?"

A.—"Yes, sir."

Q.—"Is it impossible, then, to administer justice, under our laws, to this Chinese population?"

A.—"Exactly; it is impossible."

Charles P. O'Neil, twenty years a policeman in Sacramento, testified upon the same occasion as follows:

Q.—"Do you know anything about the murder of the first interpreter?"

A.—"Yes, sir. He belonged to the Ning Yeung Company, which broke off from the See Yup Company. He was considered as a pretty bad sort of man, for he was going after some Chinamen pretty lively. He was in the habit of assisting to make convictions, trumping up false charges, etc."

Q.—"How do you know they were false?"

A.—"They proved to be so afterwards."

Q.—"How was he removed?"

A.—"They sent to China for a man to come here and kill him. Letters were sent to this Chinaman at Folsom, where he was living, and also telegraphic dispatches, warning him that he was to be murdered. He immediately came to Sacramento City and went into a gambling house. He was sitting down, leaning over the table, and this man that was to kill him was standing opposite. This fellow walked behind the interpreter and shot him. As he fell he shot him a second time and then walked into the street. This was about six o'clock in the evening. He walked about forty steps up the street. He then crossed the street and walked about one hundred and fifty feet further. Then he threw his pistol in a doorway and went probably seventy-five feet further, and jumped down into a yard and disappeared. He went to China and was there pretty near a year, when he came back and died in San Francisco, just about the time we discovered his whereabouts. Before he did this killing he had gone to China. He was then sent for by the companies and came back. He was in this State only three or four days when he killed his man."

Q.—"What reason had they for wanting this man murdered?"

A.—"There was a white man murdered in Amador County by some Chinese in his employ. He was a Mr. Griswold, a wealthy ditch owner. The Chinese fled to Marysville. Ah Gow, the interpreter, was living there then, and he went to white men and said: 'The murderers of Mr. Griswold are in a wash-house across the street. Arrest them and we will make the reward.' The men were arrested, taken to Amador County and hung. That was why Ah Gow was killed."

Q.—"Do you know what company brought this man out?"

A.—"No, sir. I only learned that from the Chinese a year after the murderer left. The head of one of the companies in San Francisco was arrested for conspiracy and brought to Sacramento. On the preliminary examination he was discharged. He was a very old man, and was the man who presided at the meeting at which the reward was offered for the murder."

Q.—"When was this?"

A.—"Twelve years or more ago. Professional fighters are in the constant employ of the companies. These fighters committed several murders here some time ago, but we could not catch them. Several were arrested, but nothing could be proved. The Chinese told me they had settled the thing in their own tribunals, and that ended it."

F. L. Gordon testified that he had for some years been publishing a Chinese newspaper. He knew of cases where men had been hired to kill others.

"The first was Ah Suey, a member of the Wang-Tung-Sing Society. He did something contrary to their rules in regard to the collection of money. I was in Ah Suey's house the very day he was killed. He knew there was a reward offered for his death and he had not gone out for some days. He told me he was going to collect some money and would go to China in a sailing vessel. I told him I heard there was a reward offered for his death and he had better look out. During the day he went into Washington alley thirty or forty feet, when he was shot in the back and instantly killed."

Q.—"Who offered the reward?"

A.—"I heard that the society offered it. I think the amount offered was eight hundred dollars."

Q.—"Have you seen rewards of that kind posted up?"

A.—"Yes, sir; they are written on red paper."

Q.—"Mention some other cases."

A.—"A Chinaman on Jackson street was sent for by Chinamen, to whom he had loaned money, and was told that if he would go to a certain room on Jackson street they would pay him. Two men waited for him there and they killed him."

Q.—"Was there any evidence of a reward having been offered for his death?"

A.—"I heard it spoken of in this way before it happened: That there would be money paid for his death. I was in a house two days before the killing and there heard the matter spoken of. I am perfectly satisfied that his death was the result of a reward."

In all these evidences of unpunished crime perpetrated by the Chinese in California, in these evidences of a prevailing system of murder encouraged and sanctioned by their companies, tribunals or societies, we are, of course, but repeating what has been told before and with which the public have heretofore been made familiar. Grouped in this manner and in this connection, more concisely stated than when scattered through a volume of reports of investigations which cover a wide variety of questions, it is equally as valuable as any new testimony of a similar character would be for our present purposes. These purposes are to convince the Board and the people of the nation that these people are born and reared in savagery as well as vice, and that there is no grade of crime that they cannot and will not perpetrate for hire, our laws and our officers of the law being meanwhile, in most instances, powerless to prevent or to bring them to punishment. In itself alone it is good and sufficient reason why they should be shut out from coming to and living upon American soil. Add it to the long list of other equally forcible reasons, it leaves the pro-Chinese advocate without a shadow of argument to longer continue the controversy involved in the Chinese immigration question.

### *The Chinese Children and the Public Schools.*

We have shown that there are 722 children of Chinese parentage in Chinatown. Most if not all of these were born here, and are to all intents and purposes "native Americans." Though "native" they are not "to the manner born," because in every attribute of juvenile life they are Mongolian, as much so as if born in the province of Canton. The very exclusiveness and clannishness of the Chinese has so far preserved these children from contact with the Caucasian race, and not one word of English, or any other language than Chinese, can they articulate. In the drift of life it is quite possible that some of these later on may be brought in their younger years sufficiently in contact with the English-speaking Christian world to imbibe some of its habits and acquire some knowledge of the language.

But what results will follow? Will assimilation begin, and race mixture begin, with a mingling of Caucasian and Mongolian blood, and a new addition be thus made to the strain of American blood mixture to add one more thread to the intricacy of the present race problem that is to be worked out on our shores? To follow this inquiry and to indulge in speculation on this point forms no part of our duty at the present moment, however interesting and important it may be in the broad consideration of the Chinese question.

The point is, what shall we do with these Chinese children born upon our soil, though partaking in no respect of the proclivities and habits of any other known race except those of their own progenitors? And this opens the question that has often been agitated as to their admission to the public schools, and their right, under the law, to share the benefits to be derived from the public school fund. We have shown that there is no distinct line of demarcation—here at least—between domestic life and prostitution. We have shown that the painted harlots of the slums and alleys, the women who are bought and sold to the slavery of prostitution, are surrounded by children in some instances, and intermingle freely with the border class of family life where other children abound. We have shown that to all outward intents and purposes prostitution such as this, and with these surroundings, is a recognized feature of the economy of Mongolian life, in San Francisco at least. What, then, shall be said if the doors of our schoolhouses are to be opened to admit children reared in such an atmosphere? What, indeed, shall be said of the proposition to educate them separate and apart from children of other races, and how can we with consistency deny them this right? Speaking no language but the Chinese, born and nurtured in filth and degradation, it is scarcely probable that any serious attempt could be made to mingle them with the other children of our public schools without kindling a blaze of revolution in our midst. And again, by what right, constitutional or statutory, can we set apart separate schools and a separate fund for their education or maintenance? And yet something must be done with them, some action must be taken to rid them of their race proclivities and habits if we would protect posterity from unlimited evil consequences. Here there may well be a field for true missionary work and a problem that will tax the wisdom and patience of mankind to solve. If the immigration of the race were effectually stopped the riddle would be less intricate to deal with. But if it is to continue, even under the conditions of misnamed "restriction" which at present exist, how to deal with this constantly increasing number of Mongolian children, born and nurtured in such conditions of immorality and degradation, becomes indeed a more serious problem than any which the American people have ever yet been called upon to solve, not excepting the abrogation of African slavery and the horrors which attended its achievement.

If these children could be separated from their parents and scattered among our own people, away from the populous centers, the question involved would be perhaps easy of adjustment. The laws of nature and of men prohibit this, while the laws of morality, and the law of self-protection, must compel our own people to sternly prohibit them from mingling with our children in the public schools, or as companions and playmates. What, then, we again ask, is to be done with the Chinese children, born upon our soil, and that are yet to be born, in a ratio co-equal in its increase with the increase of immigration? To this inquiry there seems to be but one answer. Chinese immigration must stop!—absolutely stop!! For it is beyond the ingenuity of men to deal fairly with this phase of the question, except by a reversal of the laws of nature. And a violent separation of children from parents as fast as they are born, and delivering them over to our own race for education and a new order of life is a proposition not to be thought of. So, then, while the conclusions which your Committee have arrived at as to the best method of dealing with the Chinese here among us, and those which are to come after, as a local remedy for the evils which their presence now inflict upon us, are in their judgment wise and practical, the real remedy is the eventual stoppage of Chinese immigration, by such absolute, autocratic Congressional legislation as shall make it physically impossible for the Chinamen to land upon our shores, except, perhaps, in a commercial capacity alone, or as a student seeking the advantages of our educational institutions. Such legislation, perhaps, cannot be secured until the Eastern mind is educated on the Chinese question as have been the minds of the people upon this coast. And the best way to accomplish that end is to so deal with the Chinese here by local laws, made to be enforced, so as to drive them from our midst to mingle with Eastern communities, and to educate them by contact with their presence, as they have educated us through the same process, up to a realizing sense of the frightfully-disastrous results growing out of their presence among them. Until such results as these can be reached—be it at an early or a late day—what we shall do with the Chinese children is a question that may well rest in abeyance. Meanwhile, guard well the doors of our public schools, that they do not enter. For, however hard and stern such a doctrine may sound, it is but the enforcement of the law of self-preservation, the inculcation of the doctrine of true humanity, and an integral part of the enforcement of the iron rule of right by which we hope presently to prove that we can justly and practically defend ourselves from this invasion of Mongolian barbarism.

### *The Chinese as Tax-Payers.*

We have searched diligently, so far, to find some good that the community at large derives from the presence of the Chinese among us. We do not have to go far to ascertain the fact that, as a cheap laborer he is a source of profit to a few manufacturers; but when we try to ascertain how much or in what direction he contributes to the material or moral welfare of the community, the search is in vain, the results nil.

"But surely," the world will ask, "you have more than thirty thousand Chinese in San Francisco; they must contribute a reasonable share toward the support of the government and the public institutions of the city as tax-payers?" Let us see how this is. And here again the evidence is at hand in the respect of the Legislative Committee already quoted from. They say:

> Mr. Badlam, Assessor of San Francisco, testifies, (Evidence, p. 82): "The population of San Francisco is about two hundred and fifty thousand; of that about thirty thousand are Chinese. The Chinese pay about one three-thousandths part of the taxes.
>
> "The committee addressed circular letters to each County Assessor in the State, and from returns received, the assessed value of all property real and personal assessed to Chinese in this State does not exceed one million five hundred thousand dollars. The rate of State tax is sixty-four cents on each one hundred dollars in value, and if the whole tax was paid, the revenue derived by the State from the property tax laid upon property held by Chinese would not exceed nine thousand six hundred dollars.
>
> "The assessed value of all the property in the State is, in round numbers, six hundred million.

"The total population of the State is about seven hundred and fifty thousand, and the Chinese population is more than one-sixth of the whole.

"The Chinese population, amounting to at least one-sixth of the whole population, pays less than one four-hundredth part of the revenue required to support the State Government.

"The State appropriates ten thousand dollars per month for the support of the State Prison, the earnings of the prisoners falling that much short of maintaining the prison. It will be seen that the net cost to the State for each prisoner is about thirty cents per day; and this without taking into consideration the cost of prison buildings.

"The net cost to the State of keeping one hundred and ninety-eight Chinese prisoners in the State Prison is not less than twenty-one thousand six hundred dollars per annum, a sum twelve thousand dollars in excess of the whole amount of the property tax collected from the Chinese population of the State."

So much for the Chinaman as a tax-payer. Where, then, may we look to find a single good derived from his presence among us? It is a question your Committee cannot answer, and one that will stagger the ingenuity of the warmest admirers and defenders of the race, when they enter upon the labor of inquiry in this direction.

### *Relations and Responsibilities of Property-Owners.*

Chinatown occupies that portion of San Francisco which, geographically and topographically, is by far the fairest and naturally the most valuable section of the city. It was the section which naturally attracted the attention of the early pioneers, and there they located their offices and their homes. The advance guard of the Mongolian army saw that the location was good, and they advanced upon and captured it. Its capture was but a work of form, for civilization retreats instinctively from contact with the race with the same feeling of horror that the fair and innocent maiden would exhibit in shrinking from the proffered embrace of an unclean leper.

Under such circumstances the property-owner had no alternative but to accept the Mongolian for a tenant and make the best of the situation. Up to this point the property-owner in Chinatown is beyond criticism. And when property-owners on the outskirts of Chinatown continue to yield possession to the race, as tenants, as the Chinese cancer eats its way westward, to them no blame can attach, for it is that or a sacrifice of their property as a source of income. The blame for this condition of things lies with Chinese immigration in itself, for which the nation, and not the property-holder in San Francisco, is on trial.

But, as we proceed further with the consideration of this branch of the subject, the property-owner frequently appears in a less creditable position. He has had no special reason to regret the occupation of his premises by Chinese in so far as the rate of revenue derived therefrom is concerned, for that revenue, if your Committee are credibly informed, has been materially larger than could have been obtained from any other class of tenants. When, therefore, he permits his premises to be transformed into barricaded gambling dens, opium joints, kennels of prostitution and sinks of vice of the lowest possible description; when he per. mits cess-pools, bad connections with the sewers, or open sewage to exist upon his property, he becomes *particeps criminis* in this great wrong against civilization, and should be held strictly accountable for his share in the transaction. The property-owner in Chinatown must be made to feel his responsibility in this matter before Chinatown can ever be brought to a level with common public decency.

Even to-day, while this is being written, the owner of the property at No. 806 Dupont street is erecting and completing a brick building across which, upon the first floor, 25 feet from the front wall, a plank partition is built, three inches in thickness, to which boiler iron three-eighths of an inch thick is bolted across the entire face of the partition, while the door is constructed in like manner with all the adjuncts necessary to enable it to resist attack and siege. Its uses and purposes are, of course, to make secure, in open defiance of the law, the gambling den that is to be run within.

As long as the municipality of San Francisco tolerates such abuses and such violations of the law, so long must we hold our peace when the world points the finger of adverse criticism, and asks: "Why do you not put your own house in order in the matter of dealing with Chinese before you ask the aid of the nation to suppress these wrongs?"

How long would property-owners in any other part of the city be able to convert their buildings into such citadels of public defiance for the accommodation and defense of the faro dealer or gambler of any class? How long would public opinion or the public authorities permit such a state of things to continue? And yet it has, for thirty years and more, been carried on with open impunity in Chinatown, and the example of the iron-clad fortification which we have here referred to is but one of the many. For this the property-owner certainly ought to be held responsible and made amenable to the law.

Thus, with its filth, its odors, its vices and the general repulsive character of its people, Chinatown stands to-day a barrier against the advancement of the city northward and westward. It is the moral purgatory through which all must pass who inhabit, visit, labor in or own property in those sections of the city, out of which they do not pass, however cleansed by the contact, but nauseated and disgusted, and perchance defiled by Mongolian filth or disease. We must look to the property-owner for his full share of responsibility for this condition of things and his fair contribution toward its modification and prevention.

## CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

We have thus presented for your consideration and for the consideration of the public the salient features of the mode of life, effect upon home labor, habits, industries, vices and contempt of local laws of Chinese in Chinatown. It clearly appears that the present and prospective condition of things calls for a more energetic and better-defined line of policy than San Francisco has heretofore displayed, and the adoption and enforcement of such measures as will bring this people under the same control as that which is now exercised over other citizens generally.

We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the Treaty and the Restriction Act constitute no effectual barrier as yet against Chinese immigration. The tide may not be flowing in upon us as rapidly nor with the same volume as before, but "the cry is still they come," and the problem of Chinese immigration is not yet solved. Moreover, it is far better to face the fact that through British Columbia on the north and Mexico on the south the march of the Mongolian cannot be effectually stayed, except by such Congressional legislation and such an expenditure of public moneys as shall render such a result physically impossible of accomplishment; and we must meet the issue as it is presented and settle the question of how best to deal with the Chinaman when once he is among us, how best protect ourselves from the baneful effects of his presence.

The right of protecting ourselves, the right of holding the Chinese to the same responsibilities under the laws that other citizens are held, cannot be disputed. The fact that the race is one that cannot readily throw off its habits and customs, the fact that these habits and customs are so widely at variance with our own, makes the enforcement of our laws and compulsory obedience to our laws necessarily obnoxious and revolting to the Chinese; and the more rigidly this enforcement is insisted upon and carried out the less endurable will existence be to them here, the less attractive will life be to them in California. Fewer will come and fewer will remain. The very race proclivities which we thus abhor may be converted into a better safeguard against Chinese immigration than any law of Congress or any treaty, if these race proclivities which are sure to run counter to our laws and our system of morals are held sternly in check at whatever cost to the State or to the city.

Compel the Chinamen, by municipal laws which are not only enacted but enforced, to live like our own race; prevent them from burrowing and crowding together like vermin; enforce cleanliness in mode of life; break up opium dens and gambling hells; restrict the number of inhabitants in any given block in the city; enforce upon this people, so far as may be possible by every legitimate method that can be devised, a cost of living that shall approach as nearly as possible that of the ordinary white laborer. Take away from the Chinaman by such methods as these the largest possible part of the profits of his earnings as they accrue now from his present mode of life, and thus exhaust every effort to bring him to the level of the at present fearfully-handicapped American laborer, and California, or San Francisco, at least, will soon cease to be attractive as a place of abode, and a less profitable field of labor for the Chinaman than it is at present. Scatter them by such a policy as this to other States, and let other States take home to themselves the full measure of the extent of the curse of Chinese immigration, when they shall have felt the evil as we feel it here. Well-devised, well-considered and firmly-enforced municipal laws that will bring about such results as these will accomplish more in one year than declamations from the "Sand Lot" and bursts of public indignation can accomplish in a century.

This Chinese question is large enough to deserve cool and dispassionate handling, and to call for the highest possible degree of statesmanship in dealing with it.

So great an authority as Baron Alexander Von Hubner, formerly the Austrian Embassador to France, who for years past has been traveling around the world, and who is the author of several learned works, recently delivered a discourse at the Oriental Museum in Vienna, of which the following extracts appeared in the columns of the Vienna press:

" Whoever speaks of the important changes on the face " of the globe must not allow China to pass unremarked. " The war of England and France against the Celestial Em- " pire was an historical fact of world-wide importance, not " because of the military successes achieved—the most " famous of which was the plunder and destruction of the " imperial Summer Palace at Pekin—but because the allies " cast down the walls through which 400,000,000 of inhabit- " ants were hermetically losed in from the outside world. " With the intention of opening China to Europeans, the " globe has been thrown open to the Chinese. Who travels " now-a-days through the interior of the Flowery Kingdom? " No one, with the exception of the Missionaries, whose "presence was already tolerated there, and in addition to "these there are a few explorers. But the Chinese are "streaming over the greater part of the globe and are also "forming colonies, albeit after their own fashion. Highly "gifted, although inferior to the Caucasian in the highest "spheres of mental activity; endowed with untiring indus-"try; temperate to the utmost abstemiousness; frugal; a "born merchant of probity ever true to his word; a first-"class cultivator, especially in gardening; distinguished in "every kind of handicraft, the son of the Middle Kingdom "slowly, surely and unremarked is supplanting the Euro-"peans wherever they are brought together. I am speaking "of them only as I have found them. In 1871 the entire "English trade with China, amounting then as now to £42,-"000,000 sterling, was transacted through English firms. "The four great houses, of which one was American, were "in Shanghai, while the smaller ones were distributed "among the treaty ports. Added to these were the middle-"men, as the sale of English imports in the interior of the "empire was effected through native merchants. In addi-"tion to this the firm of Russell & Co. owned twenty "steamers that kept up the commercial intercourse between "the treaty ports, extending to the Yangtse river. Now-a-"days, with the exception of some great influential English "firms, all the same trade, together with the Russell steam-"ers, has passed into the hands of Chinese merchants or of "Chinese corporations. In Macao, since nearly 400 years "in possession of the Portuguese, are to be seen magnifi-"cent palaces, some of which date from the sixteenth cen-"tury; they are situated in the finest part of the city, "where the Chinese were not in the habit of building; and

" yet the greater number of these palaces have passed by " purchase into the hands of rich Chinese and are now " inhabited by them.

" On my first visit to Singapore, in 1871, the population " consisted of 100 white families, of 20,000 Malays and a " few thousand Chinese. On my return there in the beginning of 1884 the population was divided, according to the " official census, into 100 white families, 20,000 Malays and " 86,000 Chinese. A new Chinese town had sprung up, " with magnificent stores, beautiful residences and pagodas. " I imagined that I was transported to Canton. The country lying to the south point of Indo-China, which a few " years ago was almost uninhabited, is now filling up with " Chinese. The number of the sons of the Flowery Kingdom who emigrated to that point and to Singapore " amounted to 100,000 in 1882, to 150,000 in 1883, and last " year an important increase to these numbers was expected.

" The Draconian laws, through which efforts have been " made in California and Australia to get rid of this inconvenient opposition, are well known. These laws, that " stand in glaring contradiction to the philanthropic principles of equality and fraternity among all races, despite of " all efforts to maintain their efficiency, remain a dead-letter. " I never met more Chinese in San Francisco than I did last " summer, and in Australia the Chinese element is ever " increasing in importance. To a man who will do the same " work for half price all doors are open. Even in the South " Sea Islands the influence of Chinese labor is already felt. " The important trade of the Gilbert Islands is in the hands " of a great Chinese firm. On the Sandwich Islands the "sons of the Middle Kingdom are spreading every year. "The North Americans, until now the rulers of that island "under the native kings of Hawaii, are already feeling the "earth shake under their feet, as in vain they resist these "inroads. All these things have I seen with my own eyes, "excepting in Chile and Peru, countries that I did not visit. "From official documents, however, I extract the fact that "since 1860, 200,000 Chinese have landed there—an enormous number, considering the small European population "in those countries.

"Europe, with her 300,000,000; China, with her 400,000,000, represent, with the exception of India, the two "most overpopulated parts of the world. Both send their "sons to foreign climes. They consist of two mighty "streams, of which one is white and the other yellow. In "the annals of history there is no mention of the migration "of such immense masses of people. A series of questions "now arises. How will the status of the old continent be "affected by the emigration of so many of its sons? Now, "suffering from a plethora, after such a severe bleeding, "will Europe remain in a full, healthy condition, or, similar "to Spain, will she lapse into a state of anemia? Who can "tell? What fate is in store for the young, rising, aspiring "Powers of Central Asia that are neither kingdoms nor "republics, and what will be the reactionary effect on the "mother country and on Europe? We do not know. What "will be the result of the meeting of these white and yellow streams? Will they flow peacefully on parallel lines "in their respective channels, or will their commingling "lead to chaotic events? We cannot tell. Will Christian "society and Christian civilization in their present form dis-

"appear, or will they emerge victorious from the conflict, "carrying their living, fruitful, everlasting principles to all "the corners of the earth? We cannot know. These are "the unsolved problems, the secrets of the future, hidden "within the womb of time. What we now distinguish is "only the first clangor of the overture of the great drama "of the coming times. The curtain is not yet rung up, as "the plot is only to be worked out in the twentieth "century."

Such is the broad, statesmanlike view of the Chinese question. It forcibly illustrates how impossible it is, and always will be, to deal with it from the demagogue's standpoint, and how important it is that we should devise and adopt a wiser and more efficient line of policy than that which we have pursued thus far.

The crystalized facts shown in this report prove beyond question that we have not dealt sternly and vigorously enough with this question in the regulation of our own affairs; and the proof is, that by our own inertness in dealing with the practical side of the matter in the enactment and enforcement of proper laws for our protection, we have permitted the Chinese to become our masters, instead of asserting and maintaining the mastery ourselves. Let us look at this question now in all its enlarged proportions, and rely upon our own self-help to deal with it in such a manner that the effects of our policy shall be felt and its wisdom demonstrated.

Municipal laws that are made to be enforced, and that are enforced—that shall prohibit any greater number of people from living on the space covered by one block, for example, than now live on such space, taking if you please the most densely inhabited block outside of Chinatown for a standard as the limit of the rule; that shall embody the Cubic Air law as it at present stands; that shall compel the use of chimneys and proper cooking facilities; that shall enforce cleanliness at the cost of the occupants; that shall restrict prostitution; that shall suppress and put out of existence barricaded gambling dens; that shall prevent under the most stringent penalties the violation of fire and sanitary laws of every description; that shall, as a sanitary measure, prevent the exhumation of the remains of deceased persons, except under a much heavier tax than at present imposed; that shall prevent overcrowding in their theaters—will correct as far as possible many of the abuses that grow out of the presence of this people, and can hardly fail to drive them from among us. Hold, if necessary, the property-owner responsible for the overcrowding or other unlawful use of his property, and make the penalty imposed for violation of such laws a lien upon the property itself, and San Francisco will soon cease to be a paradise or even an attractive place of habitation for the Mongolian.

Recent decisions of the Supreme Court, notably in the Chinese Laundry cases, have shown conclusively that sufficient authority and power is vested in the Board of Supervisors to accomplish these results, and it rests with the Board to say how it shall best be exercised.

True it is that the wretched "dollar limit" policy again arrays itself before us when any questions in this connection involving increased public expenditures is presented. But it should not be permitted to militate against a discussion of the proposed new line of policy and the adoption of such a line of action as will bring about its earliest possible realization and enforcement, whether it is to take effect now or at such later period of time as a more enlarged sense of public duty in making future tax levies shall render practicable. Nor should it be lost sight of that in making new laws, imposing and collecting new penalties, an enlarged source of revenue can and must be created, which will go far toward covering all the expense involved in the movement. But the adoption and enforcement of the line of policy that has been suggested will be cheap at any cost, and ought not to be objected to on that score. Kept in the worn and narrow rut of public parsimony, San Francisco can never shake off this Mongolian vampire that is now sapping her vitals any more than she can protect the public health and administer to the public necessities generally in the care of schools, streets, etc. With the adoption of more liberal ideas and the exaction of a strict performance of duty on the part of her public officers and representatives, there will be no further need of, nor occupation, for the demagogue; much less will narrow-minded and mean-spirited public journalism be able to shape, control and mislead public opinion as it has done in the past.

When the nation was confronted with open rebellion on the part of the citizens of an immense area of its territory, and human slavery stood in the fore-front of the battle, as it had been the prime cause of the attempt to destroy the Government; when the question was narrowed down to a struggle between free labor and slave labor, and one or the other must be throttled to the death, the people did not stop to count the cost but stood determinedly for the right at any price, and the right prevailed

In its degree there is a struggle between free labor and that which is far worse than negro slavery in its effects upon free labor—Chinese coolieism—here in our midst to-day; and the heoroic treatment, cost what it may, is the only thing that can stamp it out. You cannot, and would not if you could, force American free labor down to the level of Chinese labor. You can so impose restrictions upon the Chinese, under general regulations, which all other races will willingly submit to—that shall take away from them much of the vantage ground which they now occupy in their cheap, crowded mode of life and the indulgence in their vices, and thereby you will force Chinese labor up to a nearer level, in cost, with that of free labor, than that which now prevails. Can it be doubtful, then, how the struggle would progress under such a change of conditions?

Meanwhile, let us relax no effort to secure from Congress such additional legislation as may be necessary to eventually and effectually prohibit and put a stop to Chinese immigration. No step can possibly be taken by the people of San Francisco, represented in her municipal authorities, that will more effectually promote this purpose than to deal rigidly with these Asiatic people among us, and so drive them to other States, to be their own educators against their further coming. For no method and no policy will sooner relieve our working classes from the disadvantages and hardships which their presence here now involves, and no method and no policy will sooner or more effectually educate the Eastern mind up to the danger which they are courting in favoring this class of immigration than direct contact with their presence, and direct and bitter experience such as we have been subjected to and are struggling to reverse.

Your Committee will at an early day submit an ordinance for the consideration of the Board, which it is believed will best carry into effect the conclusions and suggestions hereinbefore set forth.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

W. B. FARWELL,
JOHN E. KUNKLER.

NOTE.—Mr. Pond being absent from the State, his name is not attached to this report. Having had his entire co-operation up to the date of his departure, we do not doubt that he would heartily join with us were he present.

W. B. FARWELL,
JOHN E. KUNKLER.

# APPENDIX.

# APPENDIX.

## MANUFACTURES IN CHINATOWN.

### EXHIBIT "A."

| STREET AND NUMBER | Story | Sewing Machines | Workmen | Capacity | REMARKS. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Brenham Place, 9 | 1st Story | 10 | 5 | | Shirt Manufacturing; south front. |
| Dupont, 607 | " | | 25 | 40 | Cigar Factory. One man makes 200 cigars in a day. They pay at the rate of 50 cents to 65 cents per hundred. |
| " " | 2d Story | 6 | 2 | 40 | Packing. |
| " 609 | 1st Story | | 31 | 40 | Shoe Factory. |
| " 611 | " | 3 | 15 | | Cigar Factory. |
| " 614 | " | 9 | 3 | 60 | Tailor and Overall Factory. |
| " " | 2d Story | | 8 | | " " " |
| " 617 | 1st Story | 3 | 300 | | Hop Kee & Co., Shoe Factory |
| " 618 | 2d Story | | 4 | | Tailor. |
| " " | 1st Story | | 4 | 6 | Cigar Factory. |
| " " | Upper 1st Story. | | 2 | | " " |
| " " | 2d Story | 20 | 26 | | " " full. |
| " 701 | 3d " | 33 | 18 | 40 | Shirt Factory; 26 bunks in same room. |
| " " | 2d " | 22 | 21 | 35 | Overall Factory; brand, Standard Coats. |
| " 707 | 3d " | 15 | 14 | | " " " Boss of the Road. |
| " " | Attic. | | 13 | 60 | " " " " " " |
| " 715 | 1st Story | | 40 | | Cigar Factory. Pay men 50 cents per hundred; pay strippers $15 per month. They use basement of Waverly Place. |
| " 715½ | " | 2 | 2 | | Tailors. |
| " 716 | " | 1 | 2 | | " rear is gambling room. |
| " " | 2d " | 2 | 2 | | " |
| " 813 | " | 1 | 3 | | " |
| " 816 | 1st Story | 2 | 4 | | " " " " |
| " 822 | 1st Story | 2 | 3 | | Clothing |
| " 824 | " | 1 | 4 | | " rear is gambling room. |
| " 828 | " | 2 | 3 | | " |
| " " | 2d Story | 1 | 3 | | |
| " 841 | Upper 1st Story. | 1 | 2 | | " |
| " 904 | 1st Story | 4 | 6 | | " |
| " 912 | B. | | 19 | 80 | |
| " " | 1st Story | 4 | 7 | | " |
| " 916 | " | 1 | 6 | | Overall Factory. |
| " " | 2d Story | 10 | 4 | | " " Pay men $10 to $16 per month and board. A man can make 1 doz. overalls in a day. It costs 25 cts. per day for board. |
| Waverly Place, 10 | 1st Story | | 9 | | Clothing. |
| " 13 | B. | | | | Cigar Factory. See 715 Dupont street. |
| " 22 | 1st Story | | 3 | | Clothing. |

## MANUFACTURES IN CHINATOWN—Continued.

### EXHIBIT "A."

| Street and Number | Story | Sewing Machines | Workmen | Capacity | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Waverly Place, 18 | 1st Story |  | 3 |  | Tin Shop. |
| " 25 | " |  | 3 |  | Shoe Factory. |
| " 38½ | " | 1 | 1 |  | Tailor. |
| " 116 | " | 3 | 3 |  | " |
| " 125 | " | 4 | 3 |  | Clothing. |
| " 127 | " | 1 | 1 |  | Tailor. |
| " 35 | " | 4 | 7 |  | Overall Factory, Pay men from 75 cents to 85 cents per day. A man can make from 1 to 1½ doz. pairs in a day. |
|  | Upper 1st story. | 15 | 15 |  |  |
| " 37 |  |  | 2 |  | Clothing. |
| " 16 | 1st Story |  | 1 |  | " |
| Dupont, 813 | " |  | 2 |  | Tailor. |
| " " | " |  | 2 |  | " |
| " 813½ | " |  | 2 |  | " |
| " 819 | " |  | 2 |  | Tin Shop. |
| " 843 | " |  | 2 |  | " |
| " " | 2d Story |  | 1 |  | Candle Fact |
| " 845 | 1st Story |  | 1 |  | Clothing. |
| " 919 | " |  | 1 |  | " |
| " 1002 | B. | 3 | 3 |  | Overall Factory. |
| " 1006 | 1st Story | 3 | 5 |  | Clothing. |
| " 1013 | " |  | 1 |  | " |
| " " | 2d Story | 6 | 6 |  | " |
| " 1014 | " | 3 | 6 |  | " |
| " 1017 | 1st Story | 3 | 3 |  | " |
| " 1018 | " | 4 | 6 |  | " |
| " " | 2d Story | 8 | 6 |  | " |
| " " | " | 5 | 4 |  | " |
| " " | 3d Story | 3 | 4 |  | " |
| " " | " | 2 | 4 |  | " |
| " " | 4th Story | 2 | 4 |  | " |
| " " | " | 1 | 2 |  | " |
| " 1021 | 1st Story | 2 | 2 |  | " |
| " " | 2d Story | 2 | 6 |  | " |
| " 1028 | 3d Story | 2 | 4 |  | " |
| " 1032 | 1st Story | 4 | 6 |  | " |
| " 1034 | 2d Story | 10 | 20 |  | " |
| " " | " | 9 | 9 |  | Shirt Factory. |
| Stockton, 710 | B. |  |  |  | Tannery. See Brooklyn Place. |
| " " | 1st Story | 12 | 11 |  | Shirt Factory. |
| " 712 | " | 6 | 5 |  | " " |
| " 804 | Sub-B. | 4 | 3 |  | " " 1 woman working. |
| " " | B. | 4 | 6 | 15 | Shoe " |
| " 816 | 1st Story | 3 | 4 |  | Shirt " |
| " 912 | " | 4 | 15 |  | Ladies' Underwear. |
| " " | 2d Story | 7 | 5 |  | " " |
| " 914 | 1st Story | 4 | 2 |  | " " |
| " 916 | " | 4 | 4 |  | Shirt Factory. |
| " " | Rear B. |  | 6 |  | Tannery. |
| " 916½ | Front B. |  | 1 |  | Cigar-box Factory; made from old boxes. |
| " " | B. |  |  |  | Tannery, included in 916. |
| " " | 1st Story | 4 | 4 |  | Ladies' Underwear. |
| " 918 | " | 5 | 20 |  | Shoe Factory; full. |

## MANUFACTURES IN CHINATOWN—CONTINUED

EXHIBIT "A."

| STREET AND NUMBER | Story | Sewing Machines | Workmen | Capacity | REMARKS. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Stockton, 918 | 2d Story | 5 | 15 | | Shoe Factory; full. |
| " 920 | B. | 2 | 2 | | Tailors. |
| " " | 1st Story | 5 | 8 | | Shirt Factory. |
| " 922 | 1st Story | | 21 | 30 | Cigar Factory. |
| " " | 2d Story | 7 | 15 | | Clothing. One woman working. The men get from 25 cents to $1 per day. Can make 2 pairs pants in a day. The proprietor gets $6 per dozen. |
| " 924 | 1st Story | 6 | 8 | | |
| " " | 2d Story | 25 | 21 | | Overall Factory. |
| " " | " | 9 | 16 | | Room connected with 847 Washington street. |
| " 1004 | 1st Story | 32 | 32 | | Overall Factory. |
| " 1006 | " | 10 | 10 | | Ladies' Underwear. These last two buildings have been torn down since notes were taken. |
| " 1010 | 2d Story | 2 | 3 | | Clothing. |
| " " | 3d Story | 2 | 2 | | " |
| " 1012 | 1st Story | 8 | 21 | | Shoe Factory. |
| " 1014 | 3d Story | 1 | 1 | | " " |
| " 1016 | 1st Story | | 27 | 40 | Cigar " |
| " " | Upper 1st Story. | | 4 | | " " |
| " 1018 | Rear B. | 1 | 3 | | Tailors } Entrance from Church Court. |
| " " | " | 4 | 7 | | " } Entrance from Church Court. |
| " 1018½ | " | 2 | 3 | | " } Entrance from Church Court. |
| " 1018 | 1st Story | 2 | 2 | | Clothing. |
| " " | " | 9 | 5 | | Tailors. |
| " " | " | 5 | 7 | | " |
| " " | 2d Story | 4 | 6 | | " |
| " " | 3d Story | 2 | 4 | | " |
| " " | " | 4 | 6 | | Tailors—work for Bennett Bros.; a white man working with and teaching Chinamen how to work. The men get $1 25 per coat, and can make one coat per day (probably correct.) |
| " 1018½ | 1st Story | 2 | 2 | | Ladies' Underwear. |
| " " | 2d Story | 9 | 5 | | Overall Factory. |
| " " | 3d Story | 2 | 3 | | Tailor. |
| " " | " | 3 | 5 | | Tailor—making for Jackson Bros. & Co. Portland, Oregon. |
| " 1018, 1018½ | 4th Story | 2 | 1 | | Shirt Factory. Men get $1 25 per day. |
| " " | " | 8 | 4 | | " " |
| " 1020 | B. | | 1 | | " " |
| " " | 1st Story | 4 | 4 | | " " |
| " 1022 | " | 40 | 40 | 60 | Overall Factory; brand, Boss of the Road. |
| " 1024 | " | 36 | 36 | 60 | " " |
| " 1104 | " | 20 | 20 | | " " |
| " 1104, 1106 | 2d Story | 4 | 9 | | Clothing. |
| " 1106 | 1st Story | 8 | 7 | | Ladies' Underwear. |
| " 1114 | B. | | 4 | | Cigars. |
| " " | 1st Story | 10 | 10 | | Ladies' Underwear. |
| " 1120 | " | 6 | 6 | | " " |
| " " | 2d Story | 12 | 12 | | Shirt Factory. |
| " " | 3d Story | 8 | 5 | | Clothing. |
| Sacramento, 708 | 1st Story | | 7 | 60 | Shoe Factory. |

## MANUFACTURES IN CHINATOWN—CONTINUED.

### EXHIBIT "A."

| STREET AND NUMBER | Story | Sewing Machines | Workmen | Capacity | REMARKS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sacramento, 708 | 2d Story | 7 | 35 | | Shoe Factory. |
| " 729 | 1st Story | | 4 | 100 | Cigar " |
| " " | Rear 1st story | | 42 | | " " |
| " " | 1st Story | | 4 | | " " |
| " " | 3d story | 56 | 45 | 60 | Overall Factory. Brands: Our Farmer's Friend, for E. T. Allen, S. F.; The Club; Crown of California; Pioneers, for A. B. Elfelt & Co.; Caballero, for A. B. Elfelt & Co. The men receive from 60 cts. to 70 cts., and the proprietor $1 10 per doz. |
| " " | 4th Story | 8 | 7 | | Overall Factory. Brand: Wagner's Success, for Chas. Wagner, Laramie, Wy. T. |
| " " | " | 3 | 4 | | Overall Factory. Brand: Eldorado. |
| " " | " | 3 | 3 | | " " " " for Chas. Wagner, Laramie, Wy. T. |
| " " | " | 2 | 2 | | Overall Factory. Brand: Wagner's Success, for Chas. Wagner, Laramie, Wy. T. |
| " 721 | 2d Story | 5 | 4 | | Overall Factory; 5 long cutting tables. |
| " " | " | 14 | 10 | | " " 11 bunks in room. |
| " " | " | 43 | 39 | 60 | " " |
| " " | 3d Story | 3 | 3 | | " " |
| " 737 | B | | 2 | | Trunk " |
| " 751 | 3d Story | 20 | 23 | | Shirt " 26 bunks in room. It was a tailor shop with 21 sewing machines when previous notes were taken. |
| " 805 | 1st Story | 3 | 3 | | Tailors. |
| " 812 | " | 4 | 4 | | Clothing. |
| " 819 | " | | 3 | 25 | Cigar Factory. |
| " " | 2d Story | | | | " " |
| " 820 | B | | 3 | | Broom " |
| " 821 | 1st Story | | 18 | 25 | Cigar " |
| Commercial, 707½ | 3d Story | 12 | 11 | | Shirt Factory. |
| " 707 | 4th Story | | 2 | 20 | Tinware; under roof. |
| " 712 | 1st Story | | | | Cigar Factory; office and dining-room. |
| " " | 2d Story | | 20 | 60 | " " pay 50 cts. and 75 cts. per hundred. |
| " 745 | B | | 2 | | Jewelry Manufacturing. |
| " " | B | 3 | 3 | | Shirt Factory. |
| " 746 | 1st Story | 4 | 4 | | Overall " |
| Clay, 733 | " | | 7 | | Broom " |
| " 735 | " | 9 | 9 | | Shirt " pay $1 25 per dozen. |
| " 737 | 2d Story | 4 | 3 | | " " pay $1 50 to $2 per dozen. |
| " 739 | 1st Story | | 16 | 30 | Cigar " pay 70 cts. per hundred; a man can make $1 50 per day. |
| " 743 | " | 6 | 20 | | Shoe Factory; full. |
| " 760 | " | | 2 | | Tin Shop. |
| " 825 | " | 6 | 5 | | Clothing. |
| " 826 | " | | 5 | | Cigar Factory; pay 50 cts. to 65 cts. per 100. |
| " " | Upper 1st Story | | 22 | | |
| " 831 | 2d Story | 3 | 2 | | Shirt " |
| " 835 | 1st Story | 2 | 2 | | " " |
| " 838 | " | 5 | 4 | | Tailors. |
| " 839 | 2d Story | 3' | 40 | 60 | Overall " |
| " 840 | 1st Story | 6 | 20 | | Shoe " |

## MANUFACTURES IN CHINATOWN—CONTINUED.

### EXHIBIT "A."

| STREET AND NUMBER | Story | Sewing Machines | Workmen | Capacity | REMARKS. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Clay, 843 | 1st Story | 6 | 6 | | Ladies' Underwear. |
| " 845 | " | 3 | 3 | | " " |
| " " | Upper 1st Story. | 8 | 7 | | " " |
| " 847 | | 4 | 4 | | " " |
| Washington, 733 | 1st Story | | | | Underwear, (removed.) |
| " 737 | " | 1 | 1 | | Clothing. |
| " 738 | " | 27 | | | " |
| " " | 2d Story. | 7 | 7 | | Shirt Factory. |
| " " | 3d Story | 4 | 3 | | Clothing. |
| " 754½ | | 1 | | | Tinware. |
| " 806 | 2d Story | | | | Vacant. |
| " 811 | 1st Story | 2 | 2 | | Clothing. |
| " 819½ | 2d Story | 7 | 28 | 50 | Shoe Factory. |
| " 823 | " | 9 | 15 | | Tailors. Pay $15 per doz. A man can make one coat in a day for wholesale merchants. |
| " " | 3d Story | 4 | 1 | | Tailors. |
| " " | " | 1 | 1 | | " |
| " " | " | 3 | 3 | | " |
| " " | " | 1 | 2 | | " |
| " " | " | 2 | 4 | | " for M. Hyman & Co. |
| " " | " | 2 | 4 | | " pay $3 per doz. for making vests. |
| " 826 | 2d Story | 13 | 11 | | Shirt Factory. |
| " 828 | B. | | 5 | | Cigar " |
| " 827 | B. | | 5 | 24 | " " changed to barber and lodging two weeks after notes were taken. |
| " " | 1st Story | | 27 | 40 | Cigar Factory. |
| " " | 2d Story | 25 | 12 | | Overall " |
| " 832 | " | 5 | 3 | | Tailors. California clothing. |
| " " | " | 2 | 2 | | " |
| " 834 | | 1 | 1 | | " |
| " 836 | 1st Story | | 2 | | Clothing and Jewelry. |
| " 840 | | | 33 | 40 | Cigar Factory. |
| " 841 | B. | | 6 | 30 | " " |
| " 843 | B. | | 3 | | Cigar-box Factory; making from old boxes. |
| " 847 | 2d Story. | 9 | 10 | | Tailors. |
| Jackson, 614 | 1st Story. | | 2 | | Candles. |
| " 617 | " | 1 | 10 | | Boot-maker. |
| " 621 | " | | 5 | | Tin Shop. |
| " " | 2d Story | 30 | 30 | | Overall and Shirt Factory. |
| " " | 3d Story | | 4 | | Tannery. |
| " 706 | B. | | 4 | | Clothing. |
| " " | 3d Story. | | 6 | | " |
| " " | 4th Story | | 4 | | " |
| " 709 | B. | 1 | 1 | | " |
| " 714 | 1st Story | | 6 | | Jewelry. |
| " 716 | " | | 6 | | " |
| " 722 | 3d Story | | 3 | | Shirt Factory. |
| " " | " | | 2 | | Clothing. |
| " 728 | Rear 2d Story | 30 | 30 | | " |
| " " | 3d Story | 26 | 25 | | " |
| " 730 | 2d Story | | 30 | | Cigars. |
| " 731 | B | | 10 | 30 | " |
| " 735 | 1st Story | 10 | 10 | | Shirt Factory. |
| " 736 | " | 5 | 7 | | Clothing. |

## MANUFACTURES IN CHINATOWN—Concluded.

### EXHIBIT "A."

| Street and Number | Story | Story | Workmen | Capacity | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jackson, 737, 739 | 1st Story, | | 17 | 60 | Cigar Factory. |
| " 738 | " | 3 | 3 | | Clothing. |
| " " | 2d Story. | | 8 | | " |
| " 739½ | B. | 4 | 5 | | Shirt-makers. |
| " " | B. | 1 | 1 | | " |
| " 740 | B. | | 5 | | Shoe Factory. |
| " " | 1st Story | 3 | 4 | | " |
| " 742 | " | | 8 | | Clothing. |
| " 840 | " | | | | " |
| Pacific, 645 | 1st Story | 4 | 5 | | Clothing. |
| " 631 | " | | 16 | | Cigars. |
| " 627 | " | | 10 | | " |
| " 635 | 2d Story | 6 | 6 | | Ladies' Underwear. |
| " 705 | 3d Story | 2 | 2 | | Clothing. |
| " 707 | 1st Story | | 38 | | Cigars. |
| " 711 | " | | 35 | | " |
| " 715 | 2d Story | 6 | 12 | | Clothing. |
| " " | 3d Story | 8 | 8 | | " |
| " 719 | 2d Story | 16 | 23 | | " |
| " 727 | " | 6 | 20 | | " |
| " 729, 729½ | 1st Story | | | | Cigarettes (store). |
| " 743 | " | 10 | 10 | | Ladies' Underwear. |
| " 837 | 2d Story | 14 | 19 | | Clothing. |
| " " | 3d Story | 3 | 8 | | " |
| Washington Place 15 | 2d Story | 6 | | | " |
| " " 17 | 1st Story | | | | " |
| Church Court, 8. | " | | | | Overalls. |
| Spofford Place, 4 | 3d Story | 2 | 2 | | Clothing. |
| " " 63 | 1st Story | 4 | 2 | | Shirt Factory. |
| " " 63 | 2d Story | 1 | 2 | | " |
| Stout's Alley, 9 | 1st Story | 3 | | | Overalls and Shirt Factory. |
| Brooklyn Place | 2d Story | | 3 | | Tannery; occupies basement of 710 Stockton street. |

## RECAPITULATION.

| | |
|---|---|
| Cigar makers | 437 |
| Boot and shoe makers | 599 |
| Clothing makers | 974 |
| Underwear makers | 255 |
| Miscellaneous | 71 |
| Total number of employees | 2,336 |
| Total number of sewing machines | 1,245 |

# BARRICADED GAMBLING DENS IN CHINATOWN.

EXHIBIT "B."

| Street. | Number. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|
| Dupont........... | 710 | Upper first floor, entrance side of stairs through three 3-inch doors plated with iron, to a room 25′x20′ back of 710; from last room to rear of 708, 15′x16′; last room leading to escape on roof. |
| Dupont........... | 714½ | Rear, first story; one table; entrance through two 3-inch plank doors. |
| Dupont........... | 716 | Rear, first story; entrance through a 2-inch plank and iron door. |
| Dupont........... | 716½ | Rear, first story; 2-inch plank and iron door, kitchen and water closet. |
| Dupont........... | 720 | First story, entrance through three doors plated with ⅝-inch iron; also room in second story. |
| Dupont........... | 722 | Rear, first story; entrance through 3-inch doors plated with iron. |
| Dupont... ....... | 800 | Rear, first story, two iron doors behind a counter; outlet to second story through an iron door to front room about 16 feet deep, opening into hall through two iron doors. |
| Dupont........... | 802 | Rear, first story; one 3-inch door plated with iron; entrance to second story through trap door plated with iron. |
| Dupont........... | 803 | Rear, first story; trap door to basement; one 3-inch plank and iron door. |
| Dupont........... | 806 | Rear, first story; two 3-inch doors plated with iron; water-closet and kitchen; escape over kitchen. |
| Dupont........... | 809 | Rear, first story; entrance from store; two heavy doors. |
| Dupont........... | 811 | Rear, first story; two small, and three 3-inch plated iron doors. |
| Dupont........... | 812 | Rear, first story; trap-door goes to cellar. |
| Dupont........... | 813 | Rear, first story; two iron doors; kitchen and water-closet in rear. |
| Dupont........... | 816 | Rear, first story; two 3-inch doors. |
| Dupont........... | 818 | Rear, first story; entrance through two 3-inch plank doors. |
| Dupont........... | 823 | North front, second story, one room; heavy iron door. |
| Dupont........... | 825 | Rear, first story; one iron door. |
| Dupont........... | 824 | Rear, first story; entrance through two 3-inch plank doors. |
| Dupont........ .. | 824 | Upper first story; connects with second story by means of heavy iron trap-door and heavy plated doors. |

## BARRICADED GAMBLING DENS IN CHINATOWN—Continued.

### EXHIBIT "B."

| Street. | Number. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|
| Dupont.......... | 828 | Rear, first story; entrance through two 3-inch plank doors. |
| Dupont........... | 837 | First story, front, rear of Chung Wing & Co.'s dry goods store. One heavy iron door, rear first story; entrance through two iron doors, with 3-inch plank; entrance from street and store, kitchen from rear by stairs to second story, about 16'x16' through heavy iron trap door; iron partition between store and gambling-room. |
| Dupont........... | 837 | One gambling-room, second story, with pawn shop; one heavy plank door. |
| Dupont.... ...... | 838 | First story, entrance through two 3-inch plank doors; entrance to second story through a trap-door; door from room on second floor is of 3-inch plank, plated with iron. |
| Dupont........... | 843 | Rear, first story; one heavy door, front and rear; kitchen and water-closet in rear; outlet over kitchen to 847. |
| Dupont........... | 845 | Rear, first story; one heavy iron door; also escape to meet store 847; kitchen and water-closet in rear. |
| Dupont........... | 847 | Second story; one heavy iron door on north front; south front, tin-shop; trap-door from 843; gambling front of stairs to third story; one heavy iron door. |
| Dupont........... | 906 | Rear, first story; 3-inch plank door; escape on second story to Dupont and Washington streets. |
| Dupont........... | 912 | Third story; old gambling-rooms; 3 doors; front and rear doors. |
| Dupont........... | 920 | Front, second story; two iron doors in front and one iron door in rear; front top of stairs, one iron door in rear; trap-door over water-shed. |
| Dupont........... | 928 | Second story; gambling and pawn-broker. |
| Dupont........... | 930 | Rear, first story; entrance through store; 3-inch plank and iron door; rear, two 3-inch plank and iron doors; rear, two iron doors. |
| Dupont........... | 905 | Rear, first story; entrance to gambling-room through store of Quong On & Co. by two 3-inch plank and iron doors; escape by plank and iron door to basement, and by trap-door to rear of first story; second story, four lottery games. |
| Dupont........... | 903 | Rear, first story; entrance through drug store of Yee Shoe Hong & Co. by three 3-inch plank and iron doors; escape; plank and iron trap- |

## BARRICADED GAMBLING DENS IN CHINATOWN—CONTINUED.

EXHIBIT "B."

| STREET. | NUMBER. | REMARKS. |
|---|---|---|
| | | door to basement, also through plank and iron trap-door to second story; also, escape from second story to Washington street. |
| Dupont............ | 911 | Rear, first story; entrance through tailor shop by two 3-inch plank and iron doors; escape to second story. Second story, five gambling-rooms; entrance through plank and iron door at head of stairs; iron partition in hall; two plank and iron doors to gambling-room; plank and iron doors at foot of second flight of stairs. In rear, plank and iron door opening in roof; plank and iron door in rear; third story for escape to 911. |
| Dupont........... | 909 | First story, rear; entrance to gambling-room through two 3-inch plank and iron doors. |
| Dupont........... | 921 | Rear, first story; entrance to gambling-room from store of Sam Shee No & Co. through one 3-inch plank and iron door; escape to upper first story. |
| Dupont............ | 919 | Rear, first story; entrance to gambling-rooms through store of You Kee by one 3-inch plank and iron door; escape in rear through 3-inch plank and iron door. Second story, two gambling-rooms, plank and iron door to each. |
| Dupont........... | 915 | Rear, first story; entrance to gambling-rooms through one 3-inch plank and iron door, front and rear; escape through trap-door to second and third stories. |
| Dupont............ | 937 | First story; entrance to gambling-rooms through one small door and three 3-inch plank and iron doors; also, entrance through sliding doors to store north. |
| Dupont.......... | 933 | Rear, first story; entrance through drug store; one 3-inch plank and iron door; also entrance or escape from rear basement through one 3-inch plank and iron trap-door; trap-door escape above to upper stories. |
| Dupont............ | 927 | Front, first story; entrance through store by three 3-inch plank and iron doors; exit to rear gambling-room in second story through three 3-inch plank and iron doors, with escapes to St. Louis Alley to second floor of restaurant; total number of iron doors on the two, seven. |
| Dupont........... | 939 | Second story; entrance to gambling-rooms through one 3-inch plank and iron door; escape from gambling-room, also rear escape |

## BARRICADED GAMBLING DENS IN CHINATOWN—Continued.

EXHIBIT "B."

| Street. | Number. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|
| | | to St. Louis Alley through one 3-inch plank and iron door. |
| Dupont | 1002 | Second story; gambling-rooms front of stairs to Bartlett Alley, and between north and south halls; one plank and iron door in front; at kitchen and north hall, wooden bars to window; trap-door down to gambling-room below; covered above and below. |
| Dupont | 1025 | Rear, first story; lottery gambling-room; entrance from store through a 3-inch plank and iron door. |
| Dupont | 1112 | Rear, first story—Lottery gambling-room. This room is 14 feet deep; entrance from cigar store through a 3-inch plank and iron door; rear one a 3-inch plank and iron door also. |
| Stockton | 1222 | Front basement—Entrance through two 2-inch plank doors; room 14 feet deep. |
| Jackson | 626 | Second story; entrance through one 3-inch plank and iron door; entrance also from rear court through plank and iron door. |
| Jackson | 632 | First story; entrance through small 2-inch plank door; also from hall, one 3-inch plank and iron door in rear; escape into court; iron bars to stairs from below; heavy trap-door; a plank and iron door at foot of stairs; door to rear room; from this, up ladder to court. |
| Jackson | 636 | First story; entrance through two 2-inch plank doors; rear kitchen; escape from kitchen to basement. Second story in front of stairs; one 3-inch plank and iron door at top of stairs; trap-door to front. |
| Jackson | 640½ | Rear, first story; entrance through store by two 3-inch plank doors. Second story, west front lottery game; one heavy wood door to hall; rear, gambling-room; entrance through one plank and iron door in front hall; heavy door at foot of stairs. |
| Jackson | 640 | Rear, first story; entrance through store; two 3-inch plank and iron doors; trap-door to gambling-room above covered with paper. |
| Jackson | 650 | First story, one plank and iron door. |
| Pacific | 741 | First story, rear; gambling-room; 2-inch plank door from rear balcony; a 2-inch plank door from kitchen of 741 Pacific street; windows from front room to wood yard east; also window to bed-room of 741 Pacific street. |
| Pacific | 727½ | First story; entrance through 729, through a 3- |

## BARRICADED GAMBLING DENS IN CHINATOWN—CONTINUED.

EXHIBIT "B."

| STREET. | NUMBER. | REMARKS. |
|---|---|---|
| | | inch plank and iron door, and a plank door in rear to Sullivan's Alley. |
| Pacific............ | 729 | Second story, entrance through trap-door from 727, laundry, rear 729, near Sullivan's Alley; lottery and gambling-room; entrance through a 2-inch plank door; exit through a plank door four inches thick to stairs south of building; entrance from balcony, east side. |
| Jackson ........... | 625 | First story; entrance through two heavy plank and iron doors. |
| Jackson.... ....... | 623 | First story; gambling-room; entrance through three plank and iron doors; iron partition. |
| Jackson....... .... | 627 | First story; front entrance through three doors—two plank and one iron—in rear to lodging-room. |
| Jackson....... .... | 711 | Rear, first story; entrance to gambling-rooms through one 3-inch plank door. |
| St. Louis Alley.... | ...... | North side, second story; gambling-room; escape on roof. |
| Jackson....... .... | 709 | Rear, first story; entrance to gambling-room through one 3-inch plank and iron door. Building runs to St. Louis Alley; no opening in the alley. Escape up ladder to second story through trap, fitting closely to kitchen, and up stairs to rear upper second story lodging; rear of lodging light door on roof. |
| Jackson....... .... | 721 | Second story; entrance through a plank and iron door over 721; gambling-room and lottery; from hall, one plank and iron door. |
| Jackson.... ...... | 715 | First story; entrance to gambling-room through pawn-broker's, west side, through two 3-inch plank and iron doors. |
| Jackson.... ...... | 715-719 | Second story; entrance to gambling-room through one 3-inch plank and iron door top of stairs. Second story, west side entrance to gambling-room through plank and iron door to Stuart's Alley. |
| Jackson....... .... | 713 | First story; entrance to gambling-rooms through Ling Ching & Co.'s general merchandise store by one 3-inch plank door; escape to St. Louis Alley through a 1-inch plank and iron door. |
| Jackson.... ...... | ...... | North side, corner of Dupont. First story—Four gambling-rooms off of main hall; hall west of main hall; entrance through one 3-inch plank and iron door to two games; entrance from last hall through one 3-inch plank and iron door; lodging for gambling-rooms through |

## BARRICADED GAMBLING DENS IN CHINATOWN—Continued.

### EXHIBIT "B."

| Street. | Number. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|
| Jackson........... | | a door of wainscoting, which slides up and down; this door is not easily observed. Second story—Gambling-room; entrance through one 3-inch plank and iron door; hall west side of stairs; entrance through one 4-inch plank and iron door; iron in center of door. Third story—Entrance from last hall through one 3-inch plank and iron door; lodging rear of gambling-rooms; court of building and kitchen east end; door from lodging-room through a 3-inch plank and iron door at south end of court; one 3-inch plank and iron door to hall; a 3-inch plank and iron door north from hall to stairs, leading up to each floor; hall west of main hall through one 3-inch plank and iron door, also one plank and iron door south of store; a plank door west to lodging-room, and one 3-inch plank and iron door to gambling-room. Fourth story—Gambling-room; entrance as shown from last hall; also light door to lodging-room from this room; kitchen covered in court, with opening in roof; also one plank and iron door, fastened up, to kitchen of fifth gambling-room; from this kitchen to rear or last hall of third gambling-room; opium store in front of fourth gambling-rooms (front first story) through one 3-inch plank and iron door to hall of gambling-room; also stairs up to upper first story. Fifth story—Gambling-room; the entrance is through two 3-inch plank and iron doors and iron partition; to kitchen, one plank and iron door, from kitchen down to third and fourth gambling-rooms, also to hall. |
| Washington....... | 800 | Second story, corner of Dupont. One plank and iron door at top of stairs, and one from hall to gambling-rooms. |
| Washington....... | 800 | Rear corner from Washington and Dupont. Chinese drug store, with entrance door of heavy plank, with two bars and braces, and through this store to back hall; escape to 903 Dupont street through trap-door down stairs to back part of store. |
| Washington....... | 808 | First story. Quong Sam Wo & Co., general merchandise, and jewelry in front; adjoining this is a private office; next to this an opium counter; then come lodgings and kitchen in |

## BARRICADED GAMBLING DENS IN CHINATOWN—CONTINUED.

### EXHIBIT "B."

| STREET. | NUMBER. | REMARKS. |
|---|---|---|
| | | rear, with a heavy plank, braced door to kitchen of gambling-room west. |
| Washington........ | 805 | First story, gambling-room; behind same store, through plank and iron door; escape through same kitchen as 808. |
| Washington....... | 816 | Entrance to Grand Theater. Gambling-rooms on east side of hall last mentioned; entrance to hall through a plank and iron door; entrance from hall to rooms through a plank and iron door, with three plank and iron doors to rooms used for gambling; kitchen in rear, with escape through a plank and iron door under stage. |
| Washington........ | 816 | Gambling-rooms on west side of same hall (Theater entrance), with kitchen and water-closet extending under a stage through a plank and iron door. |
| Washington........ | 816 | Below the stage of the Grand Theater is a kitchen for the gambling-rooms. The rest of the space is divided into two rows of rooms from east to west, with passage in rear from one end to the other; also a passage through room under stage, making a passage clear through, with center passage from east nearly through. All the rooms are connected with each other. These rooms have been used for gambling-rooms, and have several openings to see through into audience-room. There is a heavy plank and iron door leading from the audience-room to these rooms. The gambling-rooms under the audience-room have exit to these rooms through plank and iron doors, and from west and under dressing-room through plank and iron doors to stairs. At top of stairs into dressing-room is a heavy trap-door. |
| Washington........ | 820 | Front, first story; gambling-rooms through hall to rear of stairs and hardware store, through three plank and iron doors; kitchen and water-closet in rear; escape through two trap-doors to second story. |
| Washington........ | 822 | First story; gambling-room rear of pawn-shop; exit from middle room and rear of stairs to second story. |
| Washington. .... | 826 | Second story; front east corner gambling-room. |
| Washington Place. | 26 | Rear, first story; two gambling-rooms; entrance through store through 3-inch plank and |

## BARRICADED GAMBLING DENS IN CHINATOWN—CONTINUED.

EXHIBIT "B."

| STREET. | NUMBER. | REMARKS. |
|---|---|---|
| | | iron door; kitchen and water-closet in rear. |
| Washington Place. | 17 | First story, north side of building, outside door; ten feet to next door of 3-inch wood and iron; up three steps, ten feet to door of 3-inch wood and iron; three turns to gambling-room; two games; exit through iron door to stage of Jackson-street Theater; also exit from rear hall through iron door to basement. Second story—Entrance to stairs through 2-inch plank door. Third story—Gambling-room, south side of building beside stairs; small door of plank and iron First story—Entrance north side of building through two 3-inch plank and iron doors to rear of last room; exit up to second story. First story—Entrance through two planked and iron doors to rear; entrance to second story through iron trap-door; entrance from gambling-room to Jackson-street Theater, one iron door. First story—Entrance through 2 plank and iron doors. Second story—Rear door; plank and iron door from rear of stairs. First story—Gambling-room being fitted up; two heavy plank and iron doors. |
| Washington Place. | 33 | Stairs to second story of 631 and 633 Jackson street; three rooms for lottery-drawing; one heavy plank and iron door in front of stairs rear of kitchen; over lottery drawing-room one heavy plank and iron door. Second story—Lottery game; one door, heavy plank and iron; lottery game, one door, heavy plank and iron; this covers eighty feet from Jackson street; one heavy plank and iron door at head of stairs. |
| Stout's Alley ..... | ...... | West side, first story, second building from Jackson street. One 4-inch plank door and one 3-inch plank door; escape from the first floor up to second floor through trap-door to room; entrance to hall through a plank and iron door. |
| Stout's Alley...... | ...... | Third building from Jackson street, same side. First story—Gambling-room; two plank and iron doors; iron partitions in hall; escape up through trap-door to upper, first and second stories through plank and iron doors to hall, thence to street on roof; also entrance to north gambling-room. |

## BARRICADED GAMBLING DENS IN CHINATOWN—CONTINUED.

### EXHIBIT "B."

| STREET. | NUMBER. | REMARKS. |
|---|---|---|
| Stout's Alley...... | ...... | Fourth building from Jackson street, same side. First story—Iron partition; entrance through two plank and iron doors, to rear of first story; small room through another heavy plank and iron door; water-closet on the side through heavy plank and iron door; escape to roof over kitchen. |
| Stout's Alley...... | ...... | Fourth building from Jackson street. First story—Lottery through small cigar store. |
| Stout's Alley...... | ...... | Upper first story—Gambling-room; entrance through light door; one 4-inch plank door and one 3-inch plank door. |
| Stout's Alley...... | ...... | Fifth building from Jackson street, west side. First story—Gambling-room; the entrance is through one 2-inch plank door and one 3-inch plank door; to rear, kitchen and water-closet though one 3 inch plank door. |
| Stout's Alley...... | 13 | First story—Entrance through hall 30 feet deep, through two plank and iron doors; no escape. |
| Stout's Alley...... | 9 | First story—Entrance through two plank and iron doors; escape to second floor through a plank and iron door, and one light door to hall; second floor covers escape through first story south. |
| Stout's Alley...... | 9 | Second story—Entrance to gambling-room through plank and iron door in middle of stairs, and one plank and iron door at top of stairs; also connection with second floor south. |
| Stout's Alley...... | ...... | First story—Entrance to gambling-room through two plank and iron doors in front; one plank and one iron door between gambling-room to water-closet in rear. |
| Stout's Alley...... | ...... | First story—Entrance to gambling-room through two plank and iron doors in front only. |
| Stout's Alley...... | ...... | East side, first building north of Washington. First story—Entrance to gambling-rooms through two plank and iron doors; kitchen and water-closet through trap-door; escape, a plank and iron door to gambling-room north; escape also from upper first story; also through plank and iron door to hall, to Washington street, to third story and roof. |
| Stout's Alley...... | ...... | Next building north. First story—Entrance to gambling-room through two 3-inch plank doors; one plank and iron door to gambling-room south; upper first story and second |

## BARRICADED GAMBLING DENS IN CHINATOWN—Continued.

### EXHIBIT "B."

| Street. | Number. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|
| | | story escape through plank and iron trap-doors. |
| Stout's Alley...... | 4 | Rear, first story—Entrance, two plank and wooden doors. |
| Stout's Alley...... | 6 | Rear, first story—Entrance to gambling-rooms through two plank and iron doors; in rear, one plank and iron door. |
| Stout's Alley ...... | 12 | Rear, first story—Gambling-rooms in rear; escape from upper first floor; also one from first floor. |
| Stout's Alley..... | ...... | First story—Entrance to gambling-room through 3-inch plank and iron doors. |
| Stout's Alley ..... | ...... | First story—Entrance to gambling-room through one 2-inch plank door, and two 3-inch plank and iron doors; three rooms plank and iron doors. |
| Stout's Alley...... | ...... | First story—Entrance through one 2-inch plan door and two 3-inch plank and iron doors as above; escape through plank and iron door into hall; also escape to roof from second story. |
| Stout's Alley ...... | 28 | First story—Gambling-rooms connected with restaurant; entrance through two 3-inch plank and iron doors. |
| Stout's Alley...... | ...... | First story—The entrance to gambling-room is through three 3-inch plank and iron doors; escape to second story. |
| Stout's Alley...... | ...... | First story—The entrance to gambling-rooms is through two 3-inch plank and iron doors; from first to second story, 2-inch plank door. Second story—Another gambling-room, with plank and iron doors connecting with Jackson street, and plank and iron door escape to rear basement. |
| Clay.............. | ...... | Second floor—Entrance through 3-inch heavy plank and iron door from street, also from Dupont street. |
| Clay.............. | 723-729 | Second story, room on southeast corner—One gambling table; one 3-inch plank door. Room next north, one table; one 3-inch plank door; entrance from north room; windows grated. Third room, a pawn-shop; fourth room, a pawn-shop, and one gambling-table. These rooms in front have heavy plank doors to hall, and barred windows. |
| Washington....... | 849 | Rear, first story—Entrance through cigar store; water-closet in rear; trap-door in water-closet for escape. |

## BARRICADED GAMBLING DENS IN CHINATOWN—CONCLUDED.

### EXHIBIT "B."

| STR | NUMBER. | REMARKS. |
|---|---|---|
| Commercial....... | 714½ | Second story—Pawnbroker; entrance through 2½-inch plank door, plated with ¼-inch iron to gambling-den. |
| Waverley Place... | 36½ | First story—Entrance rear of 114½ through an 8-inch plank and iron door, and one 3-inch plank and iron door; kitchen and water-closet in rear; escape through window in W. C. |
| Waverley Place... | 37 | Front, first story—Entrance through one 2-inch plank and iron door; rear door, 2-inch plank and iron. |
| Bartlett Alley..... | ..... | West side, first story—One 3-inch plank and iron door, and one 3-inch plank door; escape through a plank and iron door to passage at 640½ Jackson street, up to restaurant over fence, thence to Bartlett Alley. |

# CHINATOWN IN SACRAMENTO.

A SURVEY of "Chinatown" in Sacramento would show, on a smaller scale, a condition of things precisely similar to that developed in the foregoing Report of the Special Committee of the Board of Supervisors of San Francisco. The same remark will apply to every town of importance in California or in any part of the world where the Chinese have colonized; for one "Chinatown" is as another "Chinatown" wherever it may be found, the world over. In the absence of an actual survey of and report upon "Chinatown" in Sacramento, some extracts from the testimony elicited before the Legislative Committee in 1876 in regard to the condition of things there will be of value as corroborative evidence of all that has gone before. Important extracts from this testimony touching specific features of Chinese life in this locality have already been given, and the further testimony in reference to general facts need only be added to complete the picture.

CHARLES P. O'NEIL, a policeman of twenty years' standing, testified as follows:

Q.—Are there any Chinese women here?

A.—Yes, sir; there are a couple of hundred, the most of them being prostitutes.

Q.—How many Chinese families are there in this city—men with their wives and children?

A.—There are not a great many. It is a very unusual thing for Chinamen to bring their families here from China; so much so that I never heard of such a case. In conversation with me, they always speak as if opposed to such a thing.

Q.—Do you know how these women are held—whether they are owned by anybody, or whether anybody claims to own them?

A.—Only from hearsay. I have heard them (the Chinamen) frequently say that they bought them. On one occasion I was called into a Chinese house, and there saw four hundred and fifty dollars pass between a woman and a man. They wanted me to be a witness to the fact, and I witnessed it. Sometime afterwards the woman told me that her boss had sold her for four hundred and fifty dollars. That was the contract I witnessed, but it being in Chinese I did not understand it at the time. The woman soon after committed suicide. She did not like this man to whom she had been sold, and committed suicide by drowning. From my experience as an officer, I know that these women are kept under close surveillance.

Q.—Is it possible for them to escape, or is there any reasonable probability that any of them could escape from that servitude?

A.—No; not without they are protected by the white people. I have known them to attempt to escape, and have known them to have been sent for and brought back. To do this they use different means, principally money. They use, also, the machinery of the American Courts to enforce these contracts, it being customary to have these women arrested for larceny or some crime in order to get the more secure possession of them.

* * * * * *

Q.—What proportion of the Chinese on I street do you suppose belong to the criminal classes—that is, engaged in prostitution, living off the fruits of prostitution, gambling, living off the fruits of gambling, petty larcenies, etc.?

A.—On I street there are from one hundred and fifty to two hundred of what we call "highbinders" living off the houses of prostitution, and they are mixed up with the gamblers. You might call them hoodlums. They band together and make raids on the gambling houses and on the women, and make them give them money. They live in that way; always ready for a fight at any moment among themselves, and against anybody that may oppose them. They go together in gangs, and will number about two hundred. With the women this criminal class will number at least four hundred, or one-fifth of the entire Chinese population of the city. The petty thieves, shop-lifters, etc., range with these highbinders, and go along picking articles from doorways, etc. On J street one will probably go inside to buy something, when a confederate or two will walk off with a pair of pants or boots or anything that can be carried off.

* * * * * *

Q.—Do you know of any cases of leprosy in this city?

A.—There is one knocking around town somewhere—a man. I haven't seen him lately; he was around Fifth street. There was another here but he died, and this old fellow came here, I think, from Stockton. There are some Chinese in our hospital, but I do not know how many.

Q.—Have they any respect for our oath?

A.—None, sir. From my judgment, after twenty years experience as an officer, I can say that they will swear whichever way their interests run; or will swear for any pecuniary gain—that is, the most of them. Of course there are some who are honest and straightforward, but they are exceptions. As a population the Chinese are largely criminal, when we consider perjury in the list. They are ready to do anything for their own interest and immediate advancement.

Q.—Through the exertions of yourself and some other officers you prevented boys from going to these quarters?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—Were these women always ready and willing to solicit these boys to enter their houses?

A.—Yes, sir; whenever they would come along.

Q.—Stop at the window and knock for little boys passing?

A.—Stand at the door or window and say, "Come in; come in." I never saw small boys there; never any boys less than thirteen or fourteen years old.

Q.—Don't you think boys of that age too small for that offense?

A.—Not in California. They might be back East. I have found such boys in these houses and driven them out. I have also known cases where young girls, dressed up as boys, went to these places—out of curiosity, perhaps.

Q.—Do you know any Christian Chinamen?

A.—I knew one.

Q.—How long since?

A.—Several years ago, in San Francisco.

Q.—Have you ever known of any Christians here?

A.—No, sir; nor do I believe that there ever was one made in California.

Q.—Do you know of any Chinese mission here?

A.—Oh, yes.

Q.—Who runs that mission—white people?

A.—Yes, sir; a great many young ladies go there to instruct the Chinese. They instruct men only—men and boys.

Q.—Do these young ladies ever attempt to teach the women anything?

A.—No, sir. Go to the churches every Sunday evening and you can see them teaching the Chinamen.

Q.—What are they teaching them?

A.—The Bible and all those good things.

Q.—What effect does that teaching have on them?

A.—It makes confirmed scoundrels of them.

Q.—Do you know anything about any opium dens?

A.—Most of their houses are so. They have places to smoke opium in almost every house. There are three or four places where white women went to smoke, but I have not seen any of them since last fall.

Q.—How are the Chinese, as a race, given to the vice of opium-smoking?

A.—About as much as American people to taking their regular "tod."

Q.—You say that this Christianity they are taught makes confirmed scoundrels of them?

A.—There are very few Chinamen I have seen (of course there are some exceptions) that become "Christians," and learn to talk good English, who do not become rascals. They go to these schools solely to learn English. I have heard Chinamen frequently say that they went to these places simply to "catchee English." I have asked them why they went, and that is the reason they have always given me. They laugh at the idea of being converted to Christianity. On one Sunday there was a Chinese missionary down on I street, singing hymns, and directly opposite the Chinese were having their religious festival, commonly called "driving the devil out." There was an old Chinaman there, Billy Holung, who has been around here for twenty years, and turning to him I asked what the Christian performance was. He said it was a Christian church. I asked him what he was talking about, and he said: "He is talking about Jesus Christ; he is damn fool; he never see Jesus Christ." There is a mission here, too. I do not know how many members it has. There are Chinamen, who claim to be converted, who preach every Sunday on Third and I streets. There are about fifteen or twenty of them, I think. A Chinaman leads it. I have not seen a white man there more than once since they went there. I do not believe in Chinese religious sincerity, so far as Christianity is concerned.

Q.—Do the Chinese come here to stay?

A.—No, sir.

Q.—How long do they remain?

A.—They stay until they gather so much money, and then they leave for China. There are some here who have made two, three and four trips to their own country.

Q.—What is considered a fortune among the Chinese?

A.—Between two hundred dollars and three hundred dollars is considered a pretty good stake by the working classes.

Q.—Are they satisfied to go back when they get that?

A.—Yes.

**Charles T. Jones**, District Attorney of Sacramento, testified:

Q.—Can you rely upon the oaths of Chinamen?

A.—No, sir; not at all. Whenever their interests are in the least concerned, they will swear whichever way they may deem most advantageous, irrespective of truth, justice or honesty.

Q.—Have you ever known a Christian Chinaman?

A.—I have known Chinamen who pretended to be Christians, and I have heard them preach and pray. I think this Chinese Christianity is all a mere pretense. I would not trust a Christian Chinaman any quicker than I would any other; but I would be a little more suspicious in that case, because they become sharper.

Q.—Why do they go to the Christian Sunday Schools?

A.—They go to learn English. I have had Chinamen, who pretended to be very devout Christians, tell me that the only reason they went to Sunday School and Church was to learn English without any expense to themselves.

Q.—Suppose a Chinaman should assist the officers in bringing Chinese criminals to justice—would that be a dangerous thing for him?

A.—I think it would. I am satisfied that they have their own tribunals, where they try all these cases.

Q.—What chance have these women, who are held in prostitution, to escape?

A.—They have a very small chance.

Q.—In case of escape, do they ever resort to the Courts, to retain possession of the women?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—Do you think the presence of Chinese in California tends to the advancement of Christian civilization?

A.—I do not.

Q.—About what proportion of the Chinese here belong to the criminal classes?

A.—A large portion do, while I believe that every Chinaman will steal when he gets a chance. I believe the Chinese merchants here, in a manner, control the petty thieves, receive their stolen goods, and get them out of trouble when arrested.

Q.—Do you think it possible to entirely break up these houses of prostitution and gambling in this city?

A.—It would be very difficult. The Chinese resort to perjury in all cases, and many white men find it impossible to identify Chinamen.

James Duffy testified:

*Mr. Haymond*—How long have you resided in the City of Sacramento?

A.—Since 1852.

Q.—Do you know anything about the Chinese quarter?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—Do you know anything about the condition of their houses, as to cleanliness?

A.—They are horribly dirty. I have never been in a Chinese house yet that wasn't more like a water-closet than a house.

Q.—You are an expressman?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—How are the streets kept?

A.—I street is very dirty. They throw a great many slops into the street and into the back yards, and between them all there is a terrible mess.

Q.—Do they live as white people do?

A.—No, sir. You and your wife could not live where thirty of them live.

Q.—Do you know anything of boys visiting houses of prostitution?

A.—I have seen small boys visit their houses of prostitution. In one instance I saw a woman entice a boy of about eleven years of age into her house. I got a policeman, George Harvey, and had both parties arrested. The woman, I think, deposited ten dollars for her appearance, but forfeited it next morning.

*Mr. Donovan*—Do you know of white people being discharged to give place to Chinamen?

A.—I have heard white ladies say so. They said they would prefer white help, if they would work for the same price as Chinamen.

Q.—Do you know of any boys being diseased by having visited the Chinese quarter?

A.—No more than I have heard.

Q.—What is the common report?

A.—That no one goes there except he gets diseased.

Q.—What is the common report as to truth-telling among the Chinese?

A.—A Chinaman will tell a lie for ten cents and swear to it.

Q.—What is their character for honesty—are they generally considered honest, or thieves?

A.—There might be one in the city perhaps that would not steal, but you would have to look pretty hard to find him. I don't think there is a Chinaman in this city that would not steal. They are all thieves, liars and perjurers.

**James Coffey**, a policeman, testified:

*Mr. Haymond*—How long have you lived in California?

A.—Twenty-one years.

Q.—What have you been engaged in during that time?

A.—Driving stage most of the time. For the last two years I have been on the police force in Sacramento.

Q.—In what part of the State were you driving stage?

A.—All over.

Q.—In the mining section?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—Where they employed Chinese?

A.—A few.

Q.—What was the condition of the Chinese quarters in the various mining towns?

A.—Very poor.

Q.—How do they live?

A.—Most generally in tents, in those days.

Q.—In communities by themselves?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—Since you have been on the police force here have you had occasion to visit the Chinese quarters?

A.—Very often.

Q.—In what condition are their houses, and how do they live?

A.—They are in very poor condition, and the Chinamen live more like hogs than men. A great many are living in basements below the streets, except a few women who live on the first floors.

Q.—Do you know anything about young boys visiting Chinese houses of prostitution?

A.—I have seen several.

Q.—Of what ages?

A.—Twelve, fourteen, and sixteen years old.

Matt Karcher, Chief of Police, testified:

Q.—Do you know who own or claim to own the China-women who are prostitutes here?

A.—Merchants here who pretend to be respectable—Chinese merchants, I mean.

Q.—Are they buying and selling these women?

A.—That is my opinion, from my experience.

Q.—How are they treated?

A.—Where one is young and good-looking, and makes plenty of money, she is well treated. Those who are unable to make much are treated very badly.

Q.—How young are the youngest that you know of as being held?

A.—I have seen them as young as fifteen years.

Q.—What chance have they to escape from this life, if they desire?

A.—They have very little chance.

Q.—How is that?

A.—Because the Chinese will swear to almost anything, and if one is taken away by another she is simply run off to another locality to be sold into slavery again. Sometimes the farce of marrying is gone through with in order to get the woman, who may be beyond their reach. As soon as the newly-made husband gets possession of his bride he turns her over to her former owners.

Q.—Do you know of cases where they have had Chinamen arrested and convicted of crime simply because they have interfered with them?

A.—Yes, sir. The arresting officer and the District Attorney have to be very careful lest they be made the instruments of sending innocent men to State Prison. Sometimes where several men are arrested, one will be offered whom we may convict if we will let the others go. Several men were arrested here some time ago for robbing Harper's shoe-store. These fellows put up a man who admitted that he was guilty, but I did not believe he had anything to do with it. These Chinese leaders offered to furnish me with all the evidence I wanted if I would have a *nolle pros.* entered in the other cases.

* * * * * *

Q.—What is the character, as to truth and veracity, of these Christianized Chinamen?

A.—I wouldn't take their word for anything.

Q.—Would they perjure themselves as readily as do the unchristianized?

A.—I believe so.

Q.—What effect does this Christian teaching have upon the Chinese?

A.—It makes them keener and more conscienceless—worse in every way. They learn the English language, and the smarter they get the worse they get, and the more expert in thieving. I know Chinamen who have been here for a long time, and I cannot see that they have been improved by their contact with the whites. On the contrary, they have learned all of our rascality and none of our virtues. I don't think it is natural for a Chinaman to learn anything good. I have known one Chinaman a good many years. He was considered by a good many people, and is now, what they call a "way up" Chinaman—one of the better class. His name is Ah Bean.

Q.—Is he a Christian?

A.—He pretends to be. He is rather smart; has learned telegraphy, etc.

Q.—He is the fellow who tries to bribe public officers, is he?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—He is a "way up" fellow and a good Christian?

A.—Yes, sir. At one time I thought he was a pretty good Chinaman, but now I don't think there is a worse Chinaman on I street or on the Pacific Coast, because he has learned so much. The more they learn the worse they become.

Q.—What has been the effect in this city of the employment of Chinese? Has it displaced white labor to any great extent in the lighter avocations.

A.—Yes, sir; to a great extent.

Q.—Do you think that they drive servant girls from their places, deprive them of an opportunity of making an honest living?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—And has that fact added to the ranks of prostitution?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—Do you know of any such cases?

A.—Yes, sir. I recall two very distinctly, where white girls have been driven to prostitution by being thus driven from their employments.

Q.—They first come into contact with these Chinamen in the honest walks of life, and are then displaced by them. Next they meet them in the lower walks, and still the advantage is against them?

A.—Yes, sir. That condition of affairs exists to an alarming extent.

Q.—Then, instead of the presence of the Chinese tending to the advancement of Christian civilization, it has a directly opposite effect?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—It is claimed by the Chinese missionaries in this State that from sixty to one hundred have become Christianized. Taking that to be true, how many white people have been ruined by their presence here during the last twenty-five years?

A.—The percentage against them is very great. Many more whites have been ruined in this city alone than have been converted in the whole State. I do not think that Chinese become converted to Christianity at all. I don't think it is possible.

Q.—In San Francisco at an early day, and in Sacramento, there were few boys fourteen, fifteen and sixteen years of age in the country?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—And the places occupied by boys in other countries were filled by the Chinese?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—So that the result was, that when the boys came along in the natural growth of the country there was no work for them to do?

A.—That is correct.

Q.—We have an element in San Francisco, and a small element here, known as hoodlums. Might not the growth of that element be justly attributed to the presence of this people in our midst?

A.—I think nine-tenths of it may. In other countries boys find employment in this light work, but here it is done by the Chinese. Boys of tender age have been found in Chinese houses of prostitution frequently.

Q.—Would those boys be liable to visit the houses of white prostitutes?

A.—They would not be so liable.

Q.—Why is that?

A.—The prices are higher, and boys of that age will not take the liberties with white women that they do in Chinatown. In addition to that it can be said on behalf of the white women that they would not allow boys of ten, eleven, or fourteen years of age to enter their houses. No such cases have ever been reported to the police, while the instances where Chinese women have enticed these youths have been very frequent. Some three years ago two boys, one thirteen and the other fifteen, were taken from a Chinese house of prostitution and brought to the Station-house. One belonged here and the other to San Francisco. I met the San Francisco boy about a month afterwards, and found him suffering from a loathsome disease, which he said he contracted in that house.

Q.—Do you know what they do with their sick when they become helpless and unable to make more money?

A.—Put them in some outhouse, or on the sidewalk, to die.

Q.—Without food or bedding?

A.—Generally. I have found men and women, both, in that condition. I have found them by accident while hunting for other things—stolen goods, criminals, etc.

Q.—You found women without food or drink, and without covering?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—And death would have come from disease, or starvation, or both?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—Is that the common way of disposing of these women when they become useless?

A.—Yes, sir; if not the only way.

Q.—They are less cared for than are useless domestic animals by the white race?

A.—A great deal less.

Q.—What is the general effect of the presence of this race upon the morals of this country?

A.—Bad.

Q.—Is this population a criminal one?

A.—Principally.

Q.—Do you know of any good that comes from their presence?

A.—I have never heard of any, nor can I think of any.

Q.—Leaving San Francisco out of consideration, have you ever known so many people, in any city, crowded together in the same space that they are crowded here?

A.—No, sir.

Q.—Have you ever known as vicious a population concentrated in any other city?

A.—No, sir.

Q.—Do you know of any cases of leprosy here?

A.—I know of one case of leprosy here. The leper is a loathsome-looking object, and no one will dare to touch him. They will not receive him at the hospital, and there is no place at the Station-house for him. He could go into any store in this city and take whatever he pleased.

Q.—Would it be possible to close up houses of gambling and prostitution entirely in the Chinese quarters?

A.—I think it would be an utter impossibility. To do it would require a police force large enough to have a man stationed on I street every fifty or one hundred feet. More policemen would be required for the Chinese quarter than for all the rest of the city. Taking into consideration the present state of taxation, the extra expense would be more than we could stand.

Q.—The Chinese are about one-tenth the population of the city?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—Do they pay one-hundredth part of the tax?

A.—No, sir; I don't think they pay one-thousandth part.

Q.—Do they own any real estate?

A.—I do not know of any case. I have heard that one Chinaman owned a piece of land, but I do not know anything about it.

Q.—Would the house in which they live be habitable for any other class of people?

A.—No, sir. A few recently-erected might be cleansed, but most of them would have to be torn down and rebuilt.

Q.—Tell us how they regard our laws and ordinances relating to health and fire; how they live; whether they buy things here or from Chinese merchants; whom they have displaced, and what would be the effect of sending large numbers of them East?

A.—They totally disregard the fire and health ordinances. They build fires in their rooms on the floor, under the sidewalks and on the sidewalks. The danger of the destruction of the city by fire is very great, especially when a north wind is blowing. The Chinese live together, fifteen or twenty in a small room, and do their cooking there and sleep there. This enables them to live upon probably ten cents a day, or seventy cents a week, while a white laborer would be under an expense, at the very least, of twelve dollars a week. The Chinese use Chinese clothing, live upon Chinese rice, and deal with Chinese merchants. The Chinese washerman has taken the place of the white washerwoman. He has usurped the place of the white girl in families. He has driven white laborers from the factories, the fields, and the ordinary work of laborers. He has invaded a large portion of our manufacturing institutions, displacing white labor, male and female. He has been enabled to do this from the fact that he works for less than is necessary to support the most economical of white laborers. It has been stated in Eastern papers that the Chinese on this coast are abused, and that they are not protected by the laws. That is not so. It is because the laws have been well enforced in California that the people have stood this thing so long as they have. If we should send a population of this kind to any large city in the United States, and the workingmen should understand the character of the Chinese as we understand it, they would rise up and prevent their settling among them.

**Lem Schaum**, a Chinaman who came to California a boy of fifteen, testified:

Q.—Do you know how these bad women are brought here?

A.—They are stolen and bought in China, and brought here, the same as we buy and sell stock.

Q.—Their condition is a very horrible one, then?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—Do you know how they are treated?

A.—Yes, sir. The parties who own them generally treat them pretty roughly. If they don't go ahead and make money the owners will give them a good thrashing.

**O. C. Jackson** testified:

*Mr. Haymond*—How long have you been in California?

A.—Since eighteen hundred and sixty-three.

Q.—How long have you resided in Sacramento?

A.—Since eighteen hundred and sixty-three.

Q.—What is your present occupation?

A.—Regular police officer in the city of Sacramento.

Q.—How long have you been connected with the force?

A.—I have been an officer since eighteen hundred and sixty-nine, but not on the regular force all the time.

Q.—Are you familiar with the Chinese quarters of this city?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—What is their condition as regards cleanliness?

A.—It would be simply ridiculous to compare it with the white part of the city. It is filthy in the extreme.

Q.—How do they live? Do many live in the same house?

A.—They are packed in, three tiers deep. I have visited Chinatown hundreds of times in search of Chinese thieves, and have seen them stowed away head and feet together, in cellars and under sidewalks, and all their surroundings of the most filthy character.

Q.—Do you know how these Chinese prostitutes are held—whether in slavery or not?

A.—I think they are held in slavery. They are all bought and sold the same as horses and cows, bringing prices according to age and beauty.

Q.—Do you know how they are treated?

A.—As slaves, and punished as the owners may choose.

Q.—What sort of punishments are inflicted?

A.—I do not know, only from hearsay.

Q.—What chance have these women to escape if they should so desire?

A.—Very little chance. Where they do get away they are generally caught and brought back to the owners again.

Q.—Do they resort to the processes of our Courts in order to recover women who have escaped?

A.—Yes, sir; in a great many cases to my knowledge. They will swear out a warrant for her arrest for grand larceny or some felony. Sometimes it is sworn out against the man who has her, and sometimes against both. As soon as they get possession of the woman, they trifle with the cases until they fall through. It is almost impossible for a woman to escape.

Q.—Do you know what is done with these women when they become sick, helpless and incurably diseased?

A.—Where they see that they will be of no further use to make money, they turn them out on the sidewalk to die. I have seen men and women also turned out to die in this manner. I have found dead men while searching for stolen property, and have had the Coroner attend to them. The Chinese are very superstitious in regard to sickness and death, and will have nothing to do with their unfortunate fellow-countrymen. A great many die in out-of-the-way places, abandoned by the Chinese, without food or drink.

Q.—Do you know whether Chinese prostitutes have been in the habit of soliciting young boys of tender age?

A.—I do not remember any cases of late occurrence. Since the present Chief of Police went into office there has been little of that business, as he has kept the places shut up. Previous to that these women were in the habit of soliciting openly. I have seen in these houses boys of ten, thirteen, fourteen and fifteen years of age.

Q.—Have you ever heard of boys of that age visiting white houses of prostitution?

A.—No, sir; I never knew of any such case.

Q.—Do you believe the white women would allow it?

A.—No, sir.

Q.—This is frequent in the Chinese quarter?

A.—It has been.

Q.—How is their testimony received in Court?

A.—I would not believe a Chinaman under oath, for they will swear whichever way interest or prejudice directs. They are in the habit of compromising felonies and offenses. They have their own secret tribunals, where they try men for offenses. I was present at one of their meetings a short time ago, and they questioned me very closely regarding certain Chinamen whom they accused of furnishing evidence. This week, in the County Court, we had a trial of a Chinaman whom I arrested for stealing from the Congregational church school-room. He was caught in the room by the Chinaman who keeps it in order, and held until I got there and took him into custody. There were three Chinamen there when he was arrested and searched, besides Mrs. Shane, the teacher. Two of these Chinamen begged the white witnesses on several occasions not to go to Court and testify, else they would be killed by order of their countrymen. In the Police Court they were not needed, and were not called. Two or three nights before the trial came on in the County Court, this Chinaman, Fon Fon, came to my residence very much excited, and wanted me to go down town with him. I asked him what for, and he said the Ky-che-lung was holding a meeting, and he wanted me to go before it. He said they were meeting to make him pay one dollar a day for every day this man had been in jail, or else hire a lawyer to get him out, saying that if the man was convicted and he did not pay this money he would be killed. He also said that he had not dared go down I street since the man's arrest. I went to the meeting of the Ky-che-lung and was questioned very closely. To see what they were up to I evaded their questions, and finally told them this man had nothing to do with the matter. This was what they were after, and one told me he did not believe me. On the trial the two other Chinese had disappeared, and an attachment had to be sent for Fon Fon. On the stand he perjured himself, declaring he knew nothing of things that occurred there the day of arrest. He was very much scared and doubtless acted under orders. The Chinese told me the whole matter had been settled. The great number of offenses committed by Chinese among themselves are settled long before they come to issue in our Courts. They use threats and intimidation among themselves, but never towards the whites.

Q.—Do you know anything about the murder of Ah Quong?

A.—Yes, sir. That was as Mr. Jones stated.

Q.—Do you know anything about the posting up of offers of rewards for assassinations?

A.—I have had them, but of course could not read them. I have had them translated. They offer so much for the murder of a particular individual, and agree to protect the murderer.

Q.—Do you know any Christian Chinamen?

A.—No, sir.

Q.—Do you know whether the employment of Chinamen in this city, in the place of white girls, has led to the prostitution of the whites in any degree?

A.—I cannot say. My opinion is that the presence of the Chinese tends to degrade the working classes, but I can't say that I know of any instances where white girls have been driven to prostitution because of the Chinese.

Q.—How much a day can Chinese laborers of the lower classes support themselves upon?

A.—They can live on ten cents a day. White men cannot board themselves for less than fifty cents a day. The Chinese evade all the tax they can. A poll-tax receipt is passed around from one to the other, and they swear themselves clear of paying whenever they can.

A.—Do they import much of their food and clothing from China?

A.—Yes, sir. They spend very little money with Americans. They come here, stay until they get some money together, and then go home again. While they are here they are sending money home all the time.

Q.—From what you have seen, do you think the presence of the Chinese here tends to the advancement of Christian civilization?

A.—It has the reverse effect. It is also degrading to white labor; instead of learning good, they are learning vice. They are becoming educated only in thievery, and perjury, and everything bad.

Q.—In the administration of justice, do the officers meet with any assistance at the hands of the more respectable portion of the Chinese?

A.—They stand in the way of the administration of the law, from the head men down to the lowest thieves. They are a nation of thieves, the lowest being under the direction and management of the more intelligent, who know the laws, hire lawyers, procure testimony, and act as receivers of stolen goods. When you are on I street, searching for information, you can't find a man but what will answer to all your questions, "no sabe." Sometimes they put up jobs on their fellow-countrymen, and convict them of crime, whether guilty or not. They have no respect for our laws, and consider them only of use in so far as they can use them to work their own personal ends. They settle everything in their own councils, and as the thing goes there so it goes elsewhere.

Q.—What is the great difficulty in the administration of the law?

A.—Our ignorance of their language; and unless white witnesses are very familiar with Chinese faces, they have great trouble in identifying them. Officers have no difficulty on that score, but others do.